LIFE AND LABORS OF POPE LEO XIII

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MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

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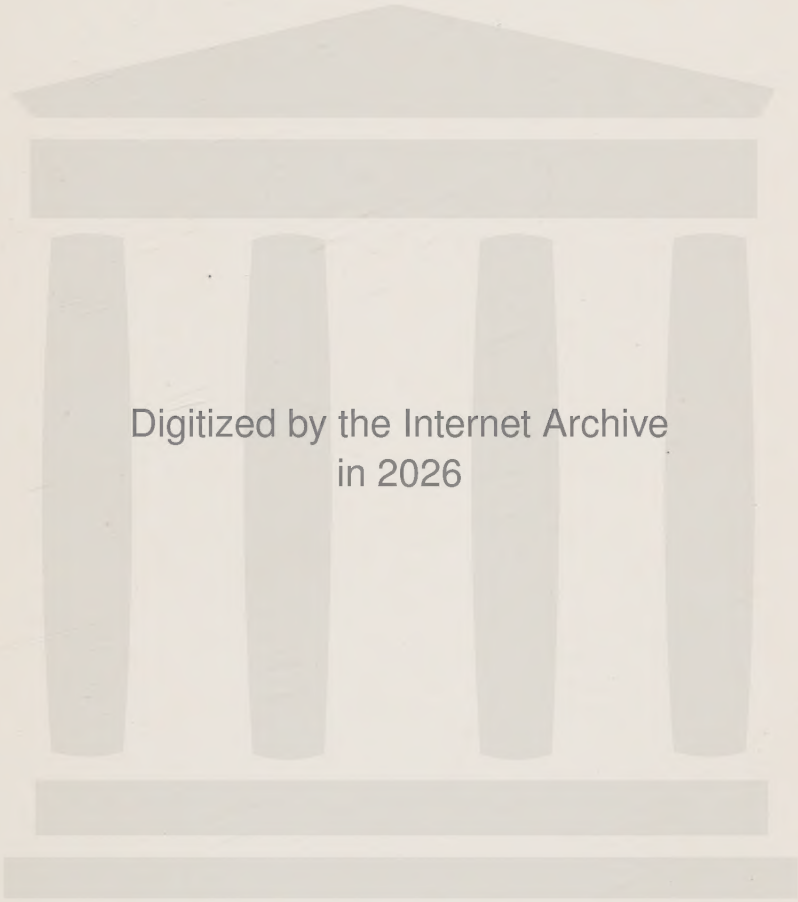

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His Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

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The Life and Labors of
POPE LEO XIII

WITH A SUMMARY OF HIS IMPORTANT LETTERS, ADDRESSES, AND ENCYCLICALS

By

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Edited and extended by

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INTRODUCTION

This "Life of Leo XIII" is not written by a cool, half-skeptical observer of the momentous events in the progress of the Papacy since the Pontiff, surnamed "Light in Heaven," ascended to the chair of St. Peter. It is a record made by a loving hand,—the hand of one whose head and heart join in reverence for the chief shepherd,—a shepherd whom Mgr. de T'Serclaes, as a priest, more readily understands and appreciates than others outside the consecrated circle.

The translator, for good reasons, has been more than usually literal, and thus has preserved some of the Latinized forms of expression which give a peculiar quaintness to Mgr. de T'Serclaes' style. The editor has taken the liberty of making certain excisions, in order to adapt the work to readers in the United States, without injuring its unity or lucidity.

Mgr. de T'Serclaes, the author of this "Life," is very truly described by Mgr. Baunard, Rector of the Catholic Faculties of Lille, in the Preface to the French edition,—"The workman was predestined to the work. Mgr. de T'Serclaes is a Belgian and a Roman. He comes from a country where Mgr. Pecci left an ever dear memory; he dwells in the country of which Pope Leo XIII is the chief glory; he is a member of his household: he presides over one of his institutions of learning, the Belgian College. You feel at once that you are at the source of knowledge; the author knows the places, the men, the things of which he speaks. He has the veritable documents in his hands, and some of them are singularly new and instructive. He is one of the initiated; hence he shows contemporary events, luminous and unexpected vistas. . . . If, later on, other histories are written of the great Pontificate, this will remain, at least, a source of abundant and trustworthy contemporary information and fair judgment which will direct the thought of future writers."

The cordial letter of the Cardinal-Rampolla to Mgr. de T'Serclaes shows how enthusiastically this scholarly tribute of reverence and love was received in the very center of the house of the Pope; it is dated "Rome, May 29, 1894," and is prefixed to this book.

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The author may at times seem too much inclined to rhetorical panegyric, and this he admits himself; but we of cooler habit must remember that he writes as a friend very dear and very near to that illustrious Pontiff, who has,—and men of all religious points of view declare it,—the gift of supremely attracting hearts. Besides, when he supports his enthusiasm by facts and documents, even Americans, whose eulogies are always tempered by a conservatism that has a touch of coldness, cannot object. No admiration, no love, no reverence ever shown by a biographer for his subject is better supported by facts and documents than that of Mgr. de T'Serclaes for Leo XIII. Moreover, there is no personage in recent history for whom the intelligent people of the United States, of all creeds and opinions, have a more devout admiration than for this Leo XIII, who is nowhere more Pope than in America. Like Noe, he has sent forth a dove; he stands beneath the rainbow, and pleads for peace among men and nations. This is recognized among us who, after all, love peace and only tolerate war. As to the political acts of Leo XIII most Americans outside the Church are ready to say, as François Coppée recently said to the Count Charles de Germiny, author of "The Politics of Leo XIII,"—"I admire the imposing and saintly figure of the Pope and his indefatigable effort to maintain faith and charity in a century drunken with scientific pride and troubled by the spirit of revolt."

And Catholic Americans, to whom this book must especially appeal, cannot help, in the face of its evidence, thanking God for the consistent wisdom which has directed every act of the Holy Father, even in those things in which knowledge of the human heart, of the world, of science, of politics are more concerned than that one gift direct from Christ which Peter received,—infallibility in matters of faith and morals. No Pope ever had apparently more complicated difficulties to meet. It is not necessary to prove this here,—Mgr. de T'Serclaes shows it step by step.

The world was apparently leaving the Papacy and all earthly forces seemed ready to triumph over its death when the Savoyard entered Rome at the Porta Pia. All the new philosophies, in the name of liberty and social benevolence, of science and individualism, laughed or sneered. The last Pope had been strangled with the entrails of Giordano Bruno; and Mazzini, Garibaldi, and the "Honest King" of Italy were to realize the hopes of Voltaire and the philosophers of the eighteenth century!

Men who were young in the seventies can better than others realize the hopes, the misunderstandings, the "scientific" intolerance that joined with theological prejudice and hereditary ignorance against

that Church which Pius IX seemed unable to reconcile with the modern world. Evolution, as blindly interpreted, appeared to have killed Christian revelation,—and, consequently, the Roman Catholic faith must die; the revolution in Italy, fomented by the Atheists of the secret societies,—the fear of which we Americans can scarcely understand because of our own experience we do not know them,—had discredited the Papacy and left it powerless. The world, having outgrown Rome, had outgrown Christianity,—and men like Herbert Spencer and Matthew Arnold, in this wreckage, turned to science or to poetry. And yet Leo XIII, Pope, Poet, Statesman, clung to the promises of Christ.

Rome had scorned science and the people, the world said. The Papacy stood for tyranny over minds and the slavery of bodies. The New Spirit—the *Zeit-Geist*—had nothing in common with its outworn creed. Leo XIII glided into the gloom, a king dispossessed, an arbiter scorned; he seemed almost as independent of all except moral power as St. Francis of Assisi. His wealth lay in souls; he was monarch only of hearts,—and yet he brought light into the darkness.

What has he done? Compare the epochs,—measure 1872 and 1902. The encyclicals and letters of this wonderful Pope make a library in themselves. Mgr. de T'Serclaes analyzes some of the most memorable of these utterances; they are printed in these pages. What has Leo XIII done? Read them, and discover. He has set aflame the torch of knowledge, raised up the poor, helped the slave, enforced the value of all things that make for the good of men and the glory of God.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This book—and the author boasts of it—has been written not only to make known our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, and the facts of a life which, providentially long, moves almost parallel with the century in which we live, but, moreover, to defend the actions of the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST in this troubled century, in the midst of which there stir and dash against one another forces vast beyond the dreams of former ages. I have desired to show the supernatural power of the Papacy, uniting itself in an admirable way with these untamed forces, and seeking, by the firm and gentle hand of Leo XIII, to make them serve the compassionate designs of the Lord on behalf of the Church and of the nations.

For this reason I have not hesitated to approach the most delicate subjects of contemporary ecclesiastical history. For this reason, too, I repudiate that absolute independence of judgment which some would, perhaps, like to find beneath my pen. In these matters, true wisdom for him who has faith consists in conforming his judgment as perfectly as possible to that of the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, in not substituting personal thoughts for those divinely illuminated by the Head of the Church, in showing forth the activity of him who, more than any other man here on earth, is guided by adorable Providence.

This, then, is what I have striven to do in this work, based upon an exact account of facts. Without venturing to claim—which would be to claim infallibility—that no inaccuracy has slipped into this volume, I may bear witness to myself that nothing has been neglected to place beyond dispute the facts which have been presented. The offices which I fill in Rome and the kindness extended to me, in connection with this work, by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, gave me, moreover, every facility to attain this end.

For what concerns the life of Leo XIII before his Pontificate, I owe much to Count Ludovico Pecci, who was kind enough to allow me to consult the rich family archives of Carpineto, whence I have extracted several unedited documents of the highest interest. May the worthy nephew of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, receive herewith the expression of my entire gratitude.

The other sources whence material for this period has been drawn are, first of all, the *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta,* published yearly by the Vatican Press, as well as other official documents, sometimes unedited and not comprised in this collection; then the most highly accredited organs of the periodic press in which is written the history of every day, but whose statements need to undergo a rigorous censorship.

I have not failed to consult those who have written before me on the subject, notably "The Life of Leo XIII," of Mgr. O'Reilly, a work in general exact, although incomplete; the "Cronistoria della Vita et Pontificate di Leone XIII sino a mezzo il 1887," of Pierbiago Casoli, a volume of modest appearance, but of serious merit, which I have frequently followed for the first years of the Pontificate; the Golden Book of the Pontificate of Leo XIII, etc.. For the points which concern the history of the principal countries of the world I have not neglected to ask for light from men participating actively—and often in various capacities—in the political and religious movements of their countries.

If the reader should find the analyses of Pontifical Encyclicals and letters too long and too frequent, I would beg him to consider that it is not possible to give an exact idea of the Pontificate of Leo XIII without insisting at length upon these documents which are its soul and light. Moreover, if this book is to do any good, it will do it especially in rendering the teachings of the Pontiff more accessible. For the most part these teachings are difficult of access, inclosed as they are in voluminous collections, or hard to appreciate in their ensemble because of their length.

To those who may reproach me for having at times assumed the tone of panegyric or forensics, I shall reply that a Catholic priest should be allowed to exalt the triumphs of Religion when these are recognized by its adversaries themselves: let this be said to meet the first reproach. As for the second, there exist, unhappily, a good number of Catholics before whom pleading is to be done to make them admit the teachings of the Sovereign Pontiff. I hold the conviction that what in this book may appear a cause to plead will be in the eyes of posterity a title of undisputed glory for Leo XIII.

He has, in brief, in the midst of the agonies and shadows of the present hour, opened a way which will become more and more luminous to the eyes of all. May these pages, in the humble measure to which they can lay claim, contribute to make to shine that Light of Salvation which is the characteristic of the reign of the august Pontiff whose life and works they retrace.

THE AUTHOR.

Rome, on the Feast of the See of St. Peter, January 18, 1894.

Letter of His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Author:

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

The idea which you, Most Illustrious Monsignore, have had of undertaking a new biographical work regarding the august person of the reigning Pontiff could not have failed to be pleasing to His Holiness, who has seen in it one proof more of that love and of that filial piety with which he has ever known you to be inspired towards him.

There is no room to doubt that the new book which you have composed will interest in a lively fashion all those who read it. Putting aside all other merits which it possesses, it is easy to convince oneself of this fact by the simple consideration that the long sojourn of Your Lordship in Rome has put you in a position to obtain a great abundance of documents of such a nature as to enable you to confirm the truth of your narrative and to render it more exact and more attractive, while exercising a more just appreciation of events.

Accept, then, my sincere congratulations for a work written with so much labor and love. While esteeming myself happy in sending you the Apostolic Benediction which the Holy Father accords to you in witness of his especial good-will, I declare myself with all the esteem due you, Most Illustrious Monsignore,

Yours affectionately and devotedly,

M. Card. Rampolla

Rome, 29th of May, 1894.

Mgr. Charles de T'Serclaes,
Prelate of the House of His Holiness, President of the Belgian College, Rome.

POPE LEO XIII.

Pope Leo XIII in His Pontifical Robes.

Life of Pope Leo XIII.

CHAPTER I.

Portrait of Leo XIII—His Ancestors—His Parents—His Native Land—Carpineto—Birth of Joachim Pecci—His First Years—The College at Viterbo—The Roman College—The Ecclesiastical Academy—Entrance of Joachim Pecci into the Priesthood—His Ordination.

THE Catholic world is pleased to give to the Sovereign Pontiff the name of Holy Father. No name could be better chosen; the Pope is the Father of all the faithful by reason of the paternal authority he has over each one of them and of the equally paternal responsibility with which he is charged. And this Father is called Holy from the nature of his spiritual paternity. To this holy paternity of the Vicar of Jesus Christ there responds, among all Catholics, a feeling of filial love and veneration. Even before knowing the Holy Father every Catholic loves him, every Catholic is devoted to him. To know Leo XIII is to love ardently, and the aim of the present biography is to satisfy the desire of his spiritual children to know the principal facts in the life of one of the greatest of Pontiffs.

Before beginning our narrative we should like to be able in some way to bring the reader into the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff. Will he be so good as to transport himself in spirit to Rome, and to ascend with us the splendid stairway of the Vatican?

Here we are in the immense hall of the guards where the re-echoing steps of a few Swiss resound. These men wear a tri-colored costume of dark blue, yellow and red, with long halberds and pointed helmets. These costumes were carefully designed by Michael Angelo, with the difference that, in the original design, the azure of heraldry had not been replaced by the modern dark blue. We advance into the first antechamber of the Pontifical apartments and without stopping to look at the footmen clad in red damask who occupy it, we cross a row of vast rooms, the walls of which are covered with purple tapestry or adorned with superb Gobelins representing scenes from the life of Christ. In the last of these halls a throne is placed on top of a little flight of

steps, surmounted by a great canopy of Roman purple velvet with gold fringes. This is the Throne Room; here the Pope grants his formal audiences. Beyond is a smaller antechamber leading to the private, or, as they say in the Vatican, to the "secret" apartments of the Holy Father. The Throne Room and this outer antechamber are occupied by private chamberlains dressed in violet and by persons who are awaiting a private audience. Massive curiously-wrought wooden seats line the walls of the Throne Room.

During the seventy years' residence of the Popes at Avignon, many of the most important and beautiful buildings in Rome suffered the ravages of pillage and neglect and fell into squalid decay. The protecting artistic spirit of the Papacy was removed and the hand of the spoiler was free to plunder at will. Life and property alike were in constant danger, and it was an eager city that welcomed the return in 1377. But the Lateran Palace, which for a thousand years had been the home of the Pope, was found utterly unfit for occupation, and its condition necessitated new quarters. Thus it was that the Vatican, the reputed abode of Charlemagne during his stay in Rome, became the permanent residence of the Popes ever since. During the occupation of Italy by Victor Emmanuel, the Vatican, the Lateran and other property of the Popes came into the possession of the new government. This possession was retained until May 13, 1871, when these buildings were replaced under the jurisdiction of the Pope, and are considered as forming no part of the political kingdom of Italy.

Nicholas V died before carrying out his intention of making the Vatican the largest and most beautiful palace in the Christian world. He built what is now known as the Borgia Tower, so named because it was once the home of the much-attacked Alexander VI, and whose family name it bears. Since then addition after addition has been made, each one according to the architectural scheme of its period, a fact which accounts for the irregularity of its appearance. It is an immense pile and the space it covers is enormous, being in length 384 yards and in width 256 yards. It contains more than 11,000 halls, chambers and galleries, eight grand staircases that are marvels of decoration and perspective, and 200 smaller staircases. The Vatican is by no means confined to the palace of the Court of St. Damascus. It embraces great galleries and museums, the Belvedere, the Museum of Antique, the Assyrian Collection, the Museum of Tapestries and the libraries, all filled with the gifts of sovereigns and the presents received at the different jubilees. Without a knowing guide the visitor will be lost in the intricate maze of buildings, which, together with the stables, barracks for the famous Swiss guards and the gendarmes,

and lodgings for the innumerable valets, house servants and gardeners, make of the Vatican a little world of itself.

The Popes who succeeded Nicholas did everything to carry out his designs. In 1474 Sixtus IV added the Sistine Chapel; Innocent VIII built the Belvedere about 1490; Julius II added the famous "*loggie*" and laid the foundation of the Vatican Museum in the gardens of the Belvedere. With Raphael's direction to aid his own artistic perceptions, Leo X completed the "*loggie;*" Paul III erected the Pauline Chapel, and under Urban VIII Bernini built the wonderful staircase of the Scala Regia. The work of Pius IX and Leo XIII has been largely one of renovation and improvement, both badly needed.

The Sistine Chapel is a lofty hall forty-nine yards long and seventeen yards wide. The ceiling and frescoes were done by Michael Angelo and contain the wonderful Sibyls and Prophets. On the back wall of the chapel is the marvelous "Last Judgment." The journeys of the Pope from the Vatican to St. Peter's are exceedingly rare, and it is in the Sistine that the ceremonies, especially those of Holy Week, in which the Holy Father participates in person, are held.

The court of the Belvedere is surrounded by an open corridor which has four divisions. In the angles of these divisions there are cabinets which hold some of the greatest examples of the chiseler's art in the world. Here is the famous Laocoon group and the restored Apollo Belvedere. The other pieces of sculpture, minor yet most important, are in the Gallery of Statues.

The masterpieces of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Fra Angelico, Murillo, Titian, Guido Reni, Correggio, Botticelli, Perugino and a host of others make up the Gallery of Pictures.

The Vatican Archives thrown open in the cause of Truth for the first time by Leo XIII contains Latin, Greek and Oriental manuscripts to the number of 24,000.

Near the splendid Borgia rooms are "The Chambers of Raphael," the apartments of Julius II. On the same floor are the "lodges" which, it is claimed, were done likewise by Raphael, but which were probably decorated by his pupils. The apartments of the Holy Father are on the second floor. There are three chambers for his personal use, the red, green and yellow, so called because of the color of their hangings. Seated in the red room the Pope gives his private audiences, receiving, seated, princes of reigning houses, statesmen with whom he desires to talk, and the ambassadors still attending the court of the Sovereign Pontiff. There are chairs arranged about him for those with whom he wishes to converse.

The Pope's bed is in the yellow room, where an altar is so arranged

that he can say mass when sick. He eats alone and his fare is frugality itself. His only personal attendant is one servant, Centra, who has been with him for years. His indefatigable capacity for work is well tried by the enormous amount of it to be done. Much of his writing and reading is done at night, and he often falls asleep, utterly weary and worn out, with his head in the papers covering his table. During his frequent fits of sleeplessness he writes the Latin verses, of which he has done many. When younger he hated to go to bed, but now that he is older he sleeps more.

When the Holy Father is on his way to the Sistine Chapel to assume the Pontifical mantle and tiara he passes through the Hall of Mazzi, next to the *loggia,* and seated on the *sedia gestatoria* smiles on the people assembled in the Leuve and Royal Halls. On audience days or when the Holy Father says mass in the Sistine, the wraps and gloves which are not allowed in his presence are left in the Clementine Hall, which is approached by the superbly decorated Staircase of Honor.

The apartments of Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State, are in the third story of the palace just above those of the Pope. They embrace a number of apartments, as the Secretary of State is, next to His Holiness, the most important person in the household. The duties of the Secretary are numerous and the responsibilities of his office enormous, especially so under the present Pope, whose policy has ever been one of unimpeachable tact and broad diplomacy. In the morning the Cardinal Secretary receives in audience the members of the Papal household. From the hour of evening Angelus until his supper hour, half-past nine, he receives strangers.

Among the oldest apartments in the Vatican are the Borgia. Four years ago the restoration of these gorgeous rooms ordered by the Pope was completed. They were the home of Alexander VI, and with the exception of the movable furniture and one room are almost as their owner left them, save for the dimming effect of the centuries on their gilding and frescoes. Alexander added a tower containing two rooms and a staircase on each floor to the northern part of the Vatican palace built by Nicholas V in 1450. With this addition that building consisted of four stories of six rooms each, alike in plan and looking down on the present court of the Belvedere. The dimensions of these apartments were about 200 feet long and forty feet wide. Each room was connected with the next by doors on the Belvedere side, and a continuous open balcony was carried along the windows of each story as far as the Borgia Tower.

Alexander occupied the second story for his own personal use. The first story contained the nucleus of the present Vatican Library until

it was removed to its present site. Its ceilings were decorated under Sixtus IV by Ghirlandajo and Melozzo da Forlì, and its floors covered with majolica tiling. The rooms are now used for storing furniture and tapestries.

The decoration of the rooms in the western end was completed in 1495-96. They are about thirty feet high. Three in the main building are vaulted, while the audience room and the two in the Borgia Tower have flat ceilings. Pinturicchio was chosen to do the decoration, but the magnitude of the undertaking must have required the work of other hands. The work is freely allegorical but is "noble, grave and restful." The thickness of the walls at the windows is five feet. Each room has a finely carved, ample fireplace, and the door-jambs are of marble, exquisitely carved. The floors are majolica tiling and "the whole when complete must have formed the most beautifully decorated room the Renaissance produced." The second of the Borgia apartments, the "stanze" of Raphael, which are above those of Alexander VI, are much inferior in decoration to the others just mentioned.

They were the residence of Cesare Borgia when he was Duke of Valentinois and Gonfalonier of the Roman Church. The first room is about twenty-five feet square and the others are high and vaulted, and decorated with allegorical paintings dealing with the glorification of the Borgia. The Borgia private audience chamber is of great size, being about seventy feet long and thirty-eight feet wide. The walls of all the rooms are covered with sibyls and apostles, and Christian and pagan allegory are mixed in a most friendly manner. The ultramarine blue which covers the walls must have cost its weight in gold. The red, blue and gold of the Borgias predominate and the Borgia badges, the bull, the gilded flame rays on a red ground, and the rayed crown gilded on blue, are everywhere possible.

After a wait, more or less long, the vigorous ring of a bell is heard. It is the Holy Father, who announces the end of the preceding audience, and who now awaits new visitors. A chamberlain comes hastily in and invites us to enter. We cross the antechamber; a second door is opened for us which gives access to a little red drawing-room furnished simply, and we are before Leo XIII. The Holy Father is seated at the end of the room in a gilded arm-chair and near a desk laden with papers. His pale face, surrounded as with an aureole of white hair, rivals in whiteness his pure white garments. But the figure of the august old man appears upright, and intense life manifests itself in his bright and shining eyes. All who approach the Pope are impressed with the piercing expression of those eyes; all who have attempted the difficult task of describing him have spoken of them. As to the painters, that expression is the

rock on which their talent makes shipwreck. The brush cannot succeed in representing the reflection of the soul which shines like a ray of light in the eyes of the Pontiff. It is as if the soul of the Pope entered into direct communication with the soul of him who approaches him, borrowing no other medium than those eyes, which seem to give light rather than to receive it. Who of us has not seen the photograph of Leo XIII? His pictures are scattered throughout the whole world, but there are few of them that represent his countenance accurately. His expression of the eye is everything, and the material reproduction of the features can give but a poor idea of them. Intelligence and will power in the highest degree stamp every lineament of his face; hence one must hear the Holy Father speak to gain the true idea of his facial expression.

The speech of the Pope is slow and serious, placing emphasis on every word, thus giving each an important, individual meaning. The deliberate gestures with which he accompanies his speech accentuate this still further. Leo XIII never departs from the serious and from the real Pontifical majesty which are distinguishing characteristics with him. He is not seen to laugh, but he smiles readily, and his smile, marked by kindliness, lights up a naturally severe face with a charm that goes to the heart because it comes from the heart.

You cannot imagine how interested the Pope is in the conversation of those who have the good fortune of speaking to him. He then displays an extraordinary attentiveness and power of memory. He recalls with astonishing accuracy the most minute details concerning things which he has witnessed. He has preserved a vivid recollection of places through which he has passed and of persons whom he has known in the course of his long life; and as for the present, all nations of this wide earth have their place in the mind and in the heart of the Pope.

From every quarter of the world there ascends to him the cry of souls imploring aid and light in the midst of their difficulties and tribulations. Empires, nations, kings, presidents of republics, men of state, heads of the Church, cardinals, bishops, superiors of orders, nay further, communities, families, individuals, all pass incessantly before the eyes, before the mind, before the heart of Leo XIII, unfolding at the feet of the mystic rock whereon the successor of Peter is seated, the ceaseless and ever renewing flood of anxieties, struggles, pangs, doubts and sorrows which harass them.

No one hears as does the Pope the noise which arises from the world, the cries which escape from the mouth of those whom the ancients called mortals. The cry peculiar to the world, the combination of all the noises

which disturb it is as one cry of sorrow and of death, and this cry resounds continually in the ear of the Pope; it sounds like a plaintive appeal to his pity and to his wisdom.

Hence this pathetic kindliness, this readiness to welcome, to listen, to pity, which appear in the conversation of Leo XIII. Hence this sensation which one experiences while speaking to him, a feeling from which the unbeliever himself does not escape; it seems as though you had to do with one who is outside and above humanity, and upon whom, nevertheless, weigh all the sorrows of our race, as they weighed upon Christ, whose Vicar each Pope is. Hence, lastly, that profound knowledge of the human heart and that care to examine and discuss minutely its spiritual interests.

A distinguished Frenchman one day upon coming from an audience with the Pope said the following words: "I thought I was going to enlighten Leo XIII as to the state of France, and it was he who told me many things of which I was ignorant." It is certain that no one, even if he come from the uttermost ends of the earth, leaves the Pope without carrying away the conviction that Leo XIII knows that quarter of the earth, loves it, and is interested in what concerns it.

The Pope Leo XIII is indeed the Holy Father whose children all Christians are, and, in a certain sense, all men, a Father whom it suffices to approach to taste of the outpourings of his love and to feel that one is his child, known and loved as such by a supernaturally paternal heart.

Among the pen portraits of Leo XIII, we consider the following, done by a man not entirely sympathetic with the views of Leo XIII on all questions, the most successful:

"Very pale, very erect, very spare, scarcely visible to the eye (so little earthy material remains in the enveloping white cloth), the Holy Father sits at the end of the room in a huge arm-chair, leaning against a consol above which rises a crucifix.

"The light coming from the front falls perpendicularly upon the admirable face of the Latin prelate in such a way as to set off the delicate parts of the model, the 'primitive' structure, in the pictorial sense of the word, vivified, animated, electrified, so to speak, by a soul so young, so pulsating, so combative for good, understanding moral miseries so well, so full of pity for physical distress, that it astounds the eye and seems a miraculous dawn arising above the decline of day.

"The incomparable portrait of Chartran can alone give an idea of this acuteness of vision. But, nevertheless, all the powdery effect shining forth behind the snowy cassock gives a brilliancy to the cheeks and a glitter to the eyes, which are in reality much softer.

"To convey my impression I shall say that I found the Pope's face

of a more intense and striking radiance, less sovereign, more apostolic, almost patriarchal!

"A tender benevolence, timid, it would seem, and lurking in the pout of the lips, declares itself only in his smile. And at the same time, the long, well-formed nose reveals the will, an inflexible will, *which knows how to wait!*

"Leo XIII resembles the models of Perugino in the likenesses of benefactors which we see in the pictures, in the stained windows of the old cathedrals, kneeling in profile, in woolen garments, with fingers extended and humbly joined, among the apotheoses, the nativities, the triumphs of the saints, and the glory of God.

"He appears to me also to be the incarnation of the arms of his house, the coat of arms of the Pecci, with his figure as slender, as lofty as the pine-tree which is outlined like a capital I against the blue sky, and, between his eyelids, that brightness of the morning star, the precursor of dawn, that trembles at the peak of the great heraldic tree."

Let us give also some lines from the artist, who, they say, has represented the face of the Pope most successfully with the brush. Here is how the painter Chartran expresses himself:

"Let us speak first of the outward appearance of Leo XIII. His tall figure, the supreme distinction of his whole person, his face, at once energetic and kind, his forehead broad and noble, his mouth with shrewd and refined lines, his perfectly aristocratic hands, his melodious and deep voice, and, above all, his eyes full of life and of will, this unique whole, in short, contributes to make of this admirable face the most completely interesting model which can ever be granted to an artist to have under his eyes. * * * The profound admiration which I already had for the Sovereign Pontiff changed, when I was admitted to his private presence, into a veritable worship. I was taken captive at once by the eyes and by the heart."

The Catholic whose heart is already Leo's has no need, perhaps, of being taken captive in order to love the Pope. Nevertheless, when he has had the happiness of seeing him, his devotion, to employ the word of an illustrious writer, becomes deeper, more tender, and in some degree more personal. He comes from his presence with the impression of having seen and heard a man who is naturally and supernaturally great, great by reason of his sublime dignity, great in gifts of intelligence and of heart. If the imperfect sketch which we have just outlined can in some manner convey this impression to the reader, nothing could be more suitable to make him relish what we shall try to relate in the following pages, nothing will render them more interesting to his eyes.

Joachim-Vincent-Raphael-Louis, a descendant of the Counts of

Count Ludovico Pecci, Father of Leo XIII.

Countess Anna Pecci, Mother of Leo XIII.

Pecci, was born on the 2d of March, 1810, at Carpineto, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants, situated not far from Rome in the Volscian Mountains or rather in the chain called Monti Lepini, a region formerly inhabited by those warlike Volscians against whom Rome had to struggle so constantly at the beginning of her history. His father, Ludovico Pecci, and his mother, Anna Prosperi-Buzi, were as distinguished for their piety as for their noble descent.

The Pecci family is of Tuscan origin. Siena was its cradle. Driven from their native land by political discord, the ancestors of the Pope actually sought a refuge in the States of the Church; they there found a protector in the person of Pope Clement VII.

There is preserved at Carpineto a manuscript written entirely by the hand of the Abbé Joachim Pecci when he was a student at the Ecclesiastical Academy. This manuscript, in clear and fine characters which one might almost call lithographed, sets forth the genealogy of the Pecci according to the best authors and according to the traditions and documents preserved in the family.

The past of this family is remarkable. When one reads Roman history, one is struck by the persistence of the moral type of the great races of ancient Rome through the ages. The Valerii are all friends of the people; the Claudii are distinguished for their energy, indeed for their violence; the Fabii for their prudence, and so with others. Something similar is observed in the history of the Pecci family. Integrity, prudence, love of country and of religion characterize its members.

We have said that the Pecci were originally from Siena. It is in Siena, indeed, that they became famous, but before settling in this city they lived in Cortena, where they left few traces. In 1300 they moved to Siena and rapidly acquired an influential position there.

It is not necessary to trace the inextricable disputes which divided this town into bloody factions, as was the case with the majority of the Italian cities of the period. It was always, under one form or another, the struggle of all time between demagogy and the spirit of order, between the common people, the middle classes, and the aristocracy. Suffice it to say that the Pecci showed themselves ever the defenders of the fundamental institutions of their country.

Paul Pecci, indeed, by reason of his abilities and good qualities, gained for himself such authority in Siena that his fellow-citizens entrusted him in 1403 with the care of reforming the abuses which had crept into the government of the republic. He was, besides, Ambassador at Naples, General of the troops of the republic. Later he was charged with the delicate mission of persuading Gregory XII to lay aside the

Papal crown, which the latter did at the Council of Constance at the same time as the anti-Pope, Benedict XIII.

Before Paul Pecci, they mention Benvenuto, who was the first Knight of Malta created at Siena; Bernardino, Bishop of Grosseto at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a poet and author of a life of St. Catherine. The family genealogy, moreover, makes mention of Lelio Pecci, who discharged in Belgium those same duties as diplomatic envoy, as his descendant, Joachim, did in this century. He was an ambassador of the republic of Siena at the court of Charles V and left a description of the parts of Flanders through which he traveled. James Pecci, a rich gentleman, sheltered in his house Pope Martin V, who borrowed from him 25,000 florins, a large sum for the period, giving him the Chateau of Spoleto as security. Let us mention besides, among many other distinguished members of this family, Peter Pecci, an eminent statesman, professor of law at Siena, chosen by his fellow-citizens to negotiate the repeal of the alliance with the neighboring and jealous republic of Florence. He represented, in like manner, the republic of Siena at the consecration of the Emperor Sigismund, from whom he received the titles of Baron and County Palatine.

But the greatest glory of the Pecci family is that it has given saints to the Church. Let us mention the blessed Peter Pecci, who was born in Spain, whither his grandfather had emigrated; he founded the order of the hermits of St. Jerome and received the habit of a monk at Avignon from the hands of Pope Gregory XI, who approved the constitution of this community; then the blessed Marguerite Pecci, whose portrait they possess at Carpineto showing her clad in the gray garb of the Servites of Mary; finally, Father Bernardino Pecci, a Jesuit missionary to the Indies in the course of the sixteenth century. An imitator of Francis Xavier, he sought to convert the inhabitants of the kingdom of the Japanese and paid with his blood for his zeal in the cause of the salvation of souls. The missionary annals of the Society of Jesus praise him in the words written above.

How did the Pecci of Carpineto become connected with those of Siena? That is a question which takes up the attention of the Abbé Pecci in his manuscript work mentioned above, and which has occupied other genealogists after him.

This relationship is established in the first place by the constant tradition of the family of Carpineto; next by the very fact of the settlement at Carpineto of Antony Pecci, who bought property in the country in 1531, as is proved from the deeds of notaries whose records are preserved. This establishment coincides with, and cannot be without some bearing upon, the residence in the region of the two Florentines, Alex-

ander of Pazzi and Laurenzo Salvati, who from 1530 to 1534 were given the charge by Clement VII of keeping a quiet eye on Carpineto and other territories for which Julio Colonna and Octavo Orsini were contending.

This Antony Pecci was the son of Vanni, who, several times member of the Council of Governors of Siena, was named in 1500 Captain of the people, and discharged at Siena several honorable public duties. Benvenuto, another son of Vanni, received from Clement VII the position of Governor of Foligno; Antony Pecci seems to have determined, like his brother Benvenuto, not to return to his native land, but to profit by the good-will of Clement VII, who welcomed liberally persons of distinction banished from Siena by political strife, in the hope, it is said, of weakening the power of this republic, which, as a Florentine, he loved but little. Certain it is that the name of Pecci was unknown at Carpineto before 1531 and that Antony Pecci, who at this date bought property there, does not figure in the book of baptisms, which proves him to have been a stranger in the country. We find among the Pecci of Carpineto the same Christian names as among those of Siena, a fact which confirms the identity of the two families.

Pope Leo XIII belongs to the eleventh generation of the Pecci of Carpineto. This branch is celebrated for the same kind of virtues as that of Siena. Lawyers, priests, magistrates, the Pecci had all the same love of public weal and the same piety. Pascal Pecci, born in 1582, erected a chapel to the Holy Virgin and endowed it richly upon the occasion of a plague which was ravaging the country; John Baptist was Bishop of Segni; Ferdinando, who lived under Benedict XIV, a jurist of great worth, was the special friend of the great Pope whom we have just named. Joseph, the uncle of the present Pope, a most distinguished prelate, was noted for his knowledge of jurisprudence. Honored by the confidence of Pius VI, he was by this Pontiff given the task of defending the interests of his family before the tribunals, and received from him a precious ring as a token of good-will. This jewel is still preserved in the Pecci family. Named by Pius VII commissioner of the Papal chamber, Mgr. Joseph Pecci discharged his duties with a brilliancy which gained for him a great reputation in the Eternal City. He arranged in his will that his personal goods should be applied to the foundation of a *prelatura di famiglia.* They called by this name an income intended to serve for the maintenance of a member of the family entering the priesthood.

Charles, brother of Joseph, born in 1733, doctor of law, had married Anna-Maria Jacovacci di Vallecorsa. Their union was for a long time without issue. Upon the advice of a good Franciscan monk, the pious

pair, greatly afflicted by their childlessness, had recourse to the intercession of St. Ludovico of Toulouse, and a son was given them whom they called Ludovico Dominic. After the birth of this Ludovico Pecci, who was to be the father of Leo XIII, the feast of St. Ludovico of Toulouse was solemnized yearly on the 19th of August through the instrumentality of the Pecci family, in the Church of the Franciscans at Carpineto. The celebration is still annual.

On his mother's side, Leo XIII is connected with a family celebrated in the history of Rome during the Middle Ages. Anna Prosperi was a descendant of the famous Cola di Rienzi, the turbulent tribune who dreamed of reviving the forms of government and the splendor of ancient Rome, and who was finally torn to pieces by the people whom he had alternately flattered and oppressed. After his death his son Angelo took refuge at Cori and settled there under the name of Prosperi, as Father Sante Lauriento tells in a chronicle of Cori dedicated in 1631 to the saviors of Rome.

The word Carpineto signifies "wood of witch-elm," doubtless because originally the mountain where the town arose was covered with trees of this kind.

Some chroniclers would like to derive the name from a certain Carpetus, King of the Latins, who seems, we confess, to have been invented for the occasion. Let us hold, then, to the etymology derived from Carpino, *witch-elm,* which is more probable, since this tree is still very frequently met with to-day in the neighboring mountains. Carpineto has little history, or rather its history is blended with that of the princely families who disputed with one another the rule of the different towns of the Roman Campagna. There is mention, however, of a battle which took place at Carpineto in 1379 between the troops of Pope Urban VI and those of the anti-Pope, Clement VII. Carpineto was taken by assault, a hundred men of the party of the anti-Pope were killed, as many more were taken prisoners, and one hundred and twenty horses remained in the hands of the soldiers of Pope Urban VI.

The rumors of wars have ceased ages ago. The peaceful mountains of Carpineto are inhabited by quiet farmers and shepherds. Honest, frugal, pious, hardy, moral, they bear their poverty courageously and even nobly. These descendants of the masters of the world have preserved something of their former greatness. Their feet shod with sandals fastened to the leg by small bands crossed, their forms wrapped in aged and tattered cloaks like togas, speaking a language sometimes nearer to Latin than to Italian, they make one think of the former inhabitants of Latium whose blood, undoubtedly, still runs in their veins. Poor people, oppressed by a taxation of an unheard-of rapacity, they

endure these exactions with a stoical calmness that we in our northern countries would not understand.

To reach Carpineto you take the railroad which runs from Rome to Naples and get off at the station of Segni, which is at least one hour's journey distant from the town of that name. At this modest station in the midst of the fields, a primitive vehicle is in waiting, a kind of jaunting-car drawn by two little country horses who will get you to Carpineto in at least three hours. You set out upon a good macadamized road, and leave to the left the spacious plain which terminates in the chain of the Alban, Sabine and Hernician mountains, at the extremity of which you see the ancient town of Anagni. You run along very near another chain of lofty mountains which rises above the city of Segni, more ancient still than Anagni. Its gigantic walls, boldly rising upon enormous bases of almost native rock, make one think of the obscure times of the first Italic beginnings of which they are the motionless and unconscious witnesses.

The road keeps ever rising and passes through the village of Monte-Lanice, where one is surprised to find on the public square a very handsome stone fountain adorned with graceful figures of children. Beyond this village the country assumes an increasingly wild and savage character; the valley contracts between the sides of the mountains, now bare, now covered with woods, now cultivated or planted with olives and vines. The road rises steadily and its sides become ever steeper. Soon we see a bushy wood, which forms the background for a pretty country house. This is a "casino" belonging to the Pecci family. During his vacations, while a student, Joachim took delight in going there to commit to memory verses of Horace and Virgil, at the foot of a large chestnut-tree which is still pointed out to the visitor.

Here we are at length at the gates of the town. The valley has changed into a narrow gorge whose bottom cannot be seen. Above, Carpineto is picturesquely spread out on the side of Mount Capreo, while to the right rises, quite white and new, the monastery of the Augustinians rebuilt throughout in the Gothic style by Leo XIII. The distant peak of Sempreviso—the ever seen—a mountain 1,536 metres high, whence, it is said, one sees the two seas, Adriatic and Mediterranean, dominates the whole landscape.

The houses of the town are grouped around two knolls. The higher one, nearer Mount Capreo, bears the Pecci Palace and the Church of St. Leo, a temple in the Greek style, correct but slightly cold, built by Leo XIII; the other bears an old castle in ruins, but still of fine aspect despite its decay. Between these two eminences and all around them are heaped up and built into one another a crowd of picturesque and

tumble-down houses made out of badly hewn stone of gray color with irregular windows, between which wind the narrow streets, affecting for the greater part of the time the appearance of tortuous stairways. Along these streets play swarms of remarkably ragged children; on their doorsteps the old women spin flax and hemp with the old-fashioned spindles; stout mountaineers, wearing leggings and short trousers, pass by, leading donkeys laden with wood or with country produce; then there are young girls carrying on their heads the classic pitchers of copper which, Rebecca-like, they have been to fill at the fountain near by. For the town now possesses abundant fountains, thanks to the bounty of Leo XIII.

Formerly Carpineto suffered an almost regular scarcity of water. To-day this calamity is no longer to be feared. Already when Bishop of Perugia, Joachim Pecci had tried to provide water for the district of his birth by acquiring a neighboring spring, which unfortunately soon dried up. After becoming Pope, Leo XIII began the enterprise again. The engineer Olivieri had charge of this work. He brought to Carpineto the spring waters of Mount Carpino, situated to the southeast of the town, at a distance of five kilometres. The very strong limestone rock mountain was attacked by means of dynamite. They excavated two galleries, one 400, the other 90, metres in length. The work brought to light a long cave of 100 metres in which they discovered a new spring. The waters of this and of the previously known spring were stored in five large reservoirs, placed at intervals above one another and capable of holding about 7,000 cubic metres of water. An ingenious device enables them to regulate the distribution of the water according to the greater or less abundance, so that even during the three months of great drought every family in Carpineto may count on a fair amount for daily consumption, not taking into consideration all that is used for farming purposes. Two graceful fountains, one on the public square of Carpineto before the Collegiate Church, the other before the Pecci Palace, pour forth abundantly their waters for the inhabitants of the district. They are adorned with Latin inscriptions composed by the Sovereign Pontiff.

"Leniter, exiliens Pandulphi," exclaims the fountain, "e colle superno,

"Huc e nativis deferor unda iugis."

These benefits are not the only ones the Sovereign Pontiff has provided with great liberality for all the public necessities of the Carpinetans. Besides the new parish Church of St. Leo, erected and endowed by Leo XIII, the Church of St. John and St. James was completely rebuilt by him, and the Collegiate Church was adorned with stucco-

work and with paintings; the statue of Leo XIII in white marble was presented by Duke de Loubat, an American of French extraction. In addition to this, the Pope erected at Carpineto a large establishment entrusted to the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, who give instruction to girls; then a hospital for the old and infirm, kept by the Belgian Brothers of Mercy in a perfect condition. In like manner he rebuilt the Franciscan monastery and established at the Pecci Palace a meteorological observatory, a Museum of Natural History and of Ethnography, and a very fine library containing several thousand volumes. This library, annexed to the Pecci Palace, is at the disposal of the public.

When one passes through Carpineto, one is struck by the contrast between these large new structures and the old and ruined appearance of the others. One must not think, however, that these apparently tottering walls shelter poverty only. Carpineto has several well-off and even quite wealthy families, but the quest for comfort and external luxury has not yet penetrated thither, and they preserve, along with the simplicity and piety of yore, those family virtues which do more honor to a country than the display of borrowed splendor.

What we have said of the houses of the town in general does not apply to the Pecci Palace, which we reach at length. After having climbed up the gloomy, narrow streets of Carpineto, we issue upon a small square which seems to overhang the valley. Opposite rises the lordly dwelling where Leo XIII was born.

It is somewhat difficult to take in the façade at one glance, the house being very high and the square very narrow. The Pecci Palace is a vast structure of a sober and classic style, composed of two groups of buildings. The principal one, that which looks upon the square, contains, besides the large apartments of the ground floor, a long array of bedrooms in the upper story. The other, more irregular and smaller, extends upon a neighboring lane. You approach the "palazzo" by a newly constructed flight of steps. A gloomy arch crosses from one side to the other, covering a public passageway. The whole gives you the impression of the entrance to a fortress.

It is not till you reach the other side of this passageway that you find the entrance, properly so-called, of the Palace, a heavy double door adorned with bronze knockers in the form of the arms of the Pecci. This leads into a vestibule where, according to the Roman custom, you see a canopy of red material surmounting the escutcheon of the family; then you enter immediately into a huge salon furnished with gilded seats, in the midst of which you perceive, on a handsome pedestal, a group of stuffed birds showing the brilliant colors of the tropics. At the end between two windows is a full length portrait of Leo XIII, on the walls to

the right and left, those of his ancestors with his father and mother in the place of honor. Another drawing-room opens to the left of the first; long and not very light, it is of a severe appearance, with its tapestry of red damask adorned with golden spangles, upon which hangs a large picture representing Leo XIII on the *sedia gestatoria,* surrounded by his court, a remarkable work by the painter Ange de Courten. At the end, a little door leads to the library of which we have spoken, while on the right opens the room of *"Monsignore,"* which Joachim Pecci occupied when, as Archbishop of Perugia, he came to pass some days at Carpineto. This room, with its tapestry and furniture of yellow color, contains among others the portrait of the Blessed Marguerite Pecci, and, in a modest frame, the letter in which Leo XIII sends to his family his first Pontifical Benediction. An inscription in lapidary style recalls the sojourns of the Pontiff in this room, opposite which, on the other side of the room, is the private oratory where he was baptized.

On this side of the entrance hall, a little antechamber communicates with the dining-room; it is adorned with pretty mural pictures. Farther on, different vestibules cross one another, then a handsome white marble stairway leads to the upper story. We find there, in the first place, the room where Leo XIII was born. Along the corridors are other rooms, galleries looking toward the Church of St. Leo, and the great hall where the Museum of Natural History is installed. An exit opens upon the beautiful and vast *loggia* which towers above the house. It is here that the instruments for meteorological observation are arranged, entrusted to the Count Ludovico Pecci, nephew of His Holiness, who, with his gracious wife and two small children, the life and joy of the ancient and grave dwelling, occupies this Palace.

From what has just been said, the reader may conclude that the house in which Leo XIII was born deserves, better than the majority of the edifices to which it is generally applied, the name of Palace with which the Italians are so lavish. "They call every house in Italy which has windows a 'Palace'," said a caustic Frenchman. This definition does not in the least apply to the fine mansion which we have just described. An ancient stronghold, it has kept, in its approach and inner arrangement, so irregular and intricate, a suggestion of the object for which it was first destined.

To finish the sketch of the Pecci Palace, we must say a word of the garden which stretches out behind the Palace. It is composed of a long terrace, on a much higher level than that of the little square running along the principal façade of the Palace. This terrace is supported by enormous voluted superstructures, a part of which has been converted

The Pecci Family.
From a Photograph taken in the year 1867.

Pecci Palace, Carpineto, Where Leo XIII Was Born.

into a cistern for rain-water. An artistic well, with white marble curb-stone, surmounted by ironwork arches and ornamented with sculptures and the arms of the Pecci family, occupies the middle of the terrace. The rest is arranged like a garden, laid out in walks of boxwood cut in the old French style.

From the terrace there is an extended view over the pretty valley which Carpineto dominates, over the town itself, and over the surrounding mountains. How many times the eyes of Joachim Pecci, when a child and when a young man, have rested upon this sublime and charming landscape! It is serene, soothing, calm and elevating. Below the terrace, on the mountain side, wind the shady roads of a wall-enclosed park.

Of the family portraits, that of the Count Ludovico Pecci appears to us calm, intelligent and noble. In it he is represented as powdered according to the fashion of the time and clad in a rich costume which has been quite wrongly termed "a uniform of honorary colonel of the Grand Army!" If there were any honorary colonels in the Grand Army, they certainly never wore this solemn, old-fashioned coat with large lapels, these long coat skirts made to receive the sword in its sheath, these little gold epaulettes falling fringe-like towards the breast. The costume of Colonel Pecci, as his portrait shows it, is still preserved at Carpineto in company with the ancestral robes of brocade. It is of blue velvet with gold lace and decked with red ornaments. The gold buttons bear the Pontifical tiara and the keys.

The Count Ludovico, with his shaven face, his powdered hair, and his kindly expression, has nothing military in his appearance; nothing, indeed, which recalls the old soldier of the Grand Army whom M. Boyer d'Agen represents to us as full of the memories of the glories of Napoleon the First. He was, however, usually given the title of Colonel, and upon closely examining the background chosen by the artist for the portrait of the Count, a background which has turned entirely black, you finally discover that it represents the seashore. On the beach you see two rows of soldiers wearing tall hats; the first row is kneeling on the ground, the second standing; both are firing on a confused group of persons who have just disembarked from a boat near the shore. Does this scene refer to some actual deed of arms, or is it simply the imagination of the artist? This we cannot decide. Certain it is that this title of Colonel borne by Count Ludovico Pecci came to him rightfully by virtue of a patent issued by the Prince Aldobrandini Borghese, feudal lord of this region under the Pontifical government. This patent, dated the 12th of September, 1792, puts Ludovico Pecci at the head of the baronial militia raised by the Prince in the neighborhood of Carpineto, Maenza and Gavignano. This militia

had probably to check the depredations of the barbarian pirates who for a long time infested the shores of the Mediterranean. Hence the scene given as background to the picture described above. After the French invasion, the local militia was transformed into the *Civic Guard of the Department of the Volscians*, a simple change of name which did not induce Colonel Pecci, as it seems, to change even the buttons of his uniform. In 1809 he was appointed Mayor of Carpineto by the Imperial French Government. He had, as we see, nothing to do with the Grand Army.

Yet, in spite of his title, Ludovico Pecci was rather a civil magistrate or patriarchal lord than a military man. Enjoying a great esteem in the country, he was the arbitrator of all differences which arose between his fellow-citizens, his decisions were law and his words, weighty and persuasive, reconciled the most outspoken adversaries. Civil and ecclesiastical authorities continually had recourse to his wisdom, as the numerous files of papers, preserved at Carpineto, testify.

To these qualities of a public man the Colonel added deep religious convictions. A strong friend of the Franciscans, he was appointed by their superior *Syndic* or temporal protector of the Monastery of St. Peter at Carpineto. The Society of Jesus, for its part, testified to its gratitude for services rendered by him in granting him participation in the pious works of its members, as a letter from the Father Vicar-General, dated December 21, 1816, attests.

Colonel Ludovico Pecci died in 1836, aged sixty-eight years and nine months. This venerable man was loved by his family to a degree difficult to express. The affection which Joachim bore him gleams forth in all his correspondence. During the last illness of the Colonel, he wrote to his brother John Baptist: "Rome, 4th of April, 1836. Your silence kills me. And yet, O my God! I fear that this silence is but too eloquent! I cannot, however, conceal the fact from you that to leave me thus in uncertainty, a prey to the most gloomy thoughts and horrible suspicions, is, for me, a worse thing than certainty. . . . Dear John Baptist, whatever be papa's condition, I have but one thing to mention to you: the thought of his soul should claim your first attention. Spare nothing, then, on his behalf for his soul. I weep and close, etc."

On the 7th of May, 1836, after the death of their father, Joachim again writes to John Baptist: "I shall commence by reminding you that everything which happens here below, sad or sorrowful as it may be, is controlled by Divine Providence, and consequently we must submit, even in most fatal circumstances, to the decrees and conform to the will of God. You see, dear brother, that I am referring to our recent great family affliction, an affliction which, if it has been felt by all, must have

touched us more deeply who have lost in him the best father who ever lived on earth; above all, those of us who, when far away, have had to learn of his death. Imagine to what a state tears and sorrow have brought us, and how long we have remained inconsolable. But, at length, after having given free course to the feelings of nature, the voice of reason has had to take the upper hand, recalling to us the fact that such is the lot of every one who lives in this world, and that the pilgrimage of this life is of very short duration. Lastly, religion, yes, religion has spoken to us still more eloquently and has wiped our eyes in this sorrowful trial, causing to spring up in us causes for consolation and giving us the hope that his soul has already entered into a place of safety and of unending joy."

These few lines give us an idea of the feelings of the Pecci family towards its head, and allow us to appreciate the spirit of union, love, respect, in a word the profoundly Christian spirit, which obtained in the family.

This excellent spirit was due in large measure to the Countess Anna Pecci, a veritable type of the Roman and Christian matron. Anna Prosperi, the Countess Pecci, was in every sense of the word a strong woman. Her portrait, preserved at Carpineto, represents her to us in an attitude both noble and engaging, which enhances the regularity of her features and the grace of her whole person. At once gentle and firm, she knew how to inspire in her children the virtues which she herself practiced. Ceaselessly occupied with their education in those first years of childhood, so important for the rest of life, she introduced into their hearts the piety and charity with which her own was filled. They frequently saw their mother visit and console the poor of Carpineto. During the years of famine which afflicted the land at that time they might have seen her feed forty or fifty famished beings every day. With the love of their mother developed the love of the God whom they saw so much loved by their mother.

There was, however, nothing wild or fanatical about the piety of the Countess Pecci. It did not interfere with her conduct of her domestic affairs, nor with her care for the temporal wants of her household. Thus she introduced into Carpineto the rearing of silkworms, and practiced on a large scale this remunerative industry which afterward assumed such large proportions in Italy.

Anna Pecci died at Rome on the 5th of August, 1824, and was buried in the Church delle Stimmate, where a touching epitaph recounts her characteristic virtues in the following words:

"Here lies Anna Prosperi, mother of the poor, affectionate to her

children, born at Cori, a woman of old-time, sober and noble piety. After having discharged the duties of the mother of a family in an exemplary manner, she died, lamented by people of every rank, on the 5th of August, 1824. She lived in gentle terms of intimacy with her family, 51 years 7 months and 11 days. Ludovico Pecci and his afflicted children raised this monument to this unequaled, incomparable woman. Hail, most pure soul, be at peace!"

By Anna Prosperi, Colonel Ludovico Pecci had seven children: Charles, born in 1793 and died in 1879; Anna Marie, born in 1798 and died in 1870; Catherine, born in 1800 and died in 1867; John Baptist, born in 1802 and died in 1881; Joseph, born in 1807 and died a Cardinal in 1890; Joachim-Vincent-Raphael-Louis, born, as we have said, on the 2nd of March, 1810, and whose life we shall endeavor to retrace; lastly, Ferdinando, born in 1816, died in 1830, a pupil of the Roman Seminary; prematurely carried away by scarlet fever, he was greatly regretted by all on account of his fine qualities and rare talents.

Joachim was baptized, two days after his birth, in the private oratory of his parents, with special permission of the Bishop of Anagni, who had been invited to perform the ceremony in person. The bishop, while heartily granting the authority to baptize the newly-born child in the chapel of the Palace rather than in the Parish Church, excused himself from being unable to fulfill the wish of his parishioner because of the bad weather. At his baptism, the child received, as his first Christian name, that of the bishop, Mgr. Joachim Tosi. However, his mother, greatly devoted to St. Vincent Ferrier, used to call him Vincent, and this custom continued long in the family, even after the death of Anna Pecci.

We can easily imagine the first years of Joachim Pecci, in the peaceful and religious surroundings which we have described. No unhealthy emotion, none of those perverse excitements to which the young of our modern cities are exposed, came to tarnish the purity of the child. Carpineto might, perhaps, have left much to be desired as far as external luxury went, but what an incomparable retreat for forming a young soul naturally inclined towards piety and reflection!

Anna Pecci, who caught a glimpse of the spiritual manifestations of her son, promptly turned to account the excellent disposition concealed therein, and her clear-sighted love spared nothing to remove from so delicate a flower aught that might stain its bloom.

The aptitude for study displayed by Joachim and Joseph determined their parents to devote themselves especially to their instruction. Joseph, with his quick mind and restless disposition, learned as if it were play. Joachim, more thoughtful, more studious, was distinguished for his

eagerness in work. Both gave the greatest promise. But how, in the town of Carpineto, was this ground, so well prepared, to be cultivated? They had to determine on parting with the dear children, to entrust them to some college.

The Society of Jesus had just been re-established by Pope Pius VII, who sought to revive in the Papal State the colleges formerly held by it. He wished particularly to reopen that of Ferentino, and Colonel Pecci, who thought highly of the Society, rejoiced at the thought of being able to send his sons to the new college, not far distant from Carpineto. However, things dragged on and the college did not open. And in the meanwhile, the children were growing. On the advice of Father Nicolini, a Jesuit residing at Ferentino, the parents of Joseph and Vincent (to use the name then given to Joachim) decided to put them at the College of Viterbo. The presence in this town of a friend of the family, Mgr. Carmine Lolli, who occupied the high position there of apostolic delegate, that is to say, of governor of the province, was not without influence upon their decision.

They themselves took the little boys to Rome during the fall of 1817, and there entrusted them to the care of their uncle, Antony Pecci, until such time as they would be able to enter Viterbo. Then it was, doubtless, that the future Pope for the first time saw this Rome which many years after was to be the seat of his glory and also his place of torture. But his fate was still buried in the darkness of the future, and it was with the eager curiosity of a simple and young heart that the little seven-year-old mountaineer, with his large, thoughtful eyes, accustomed till then to the sights of nature alone, beheld the monuments of the Eternal City. The stay of Joseph and Vincent at Rome was prolonged for about a year. At last, in the fall of 1818, the hour came to leave the great city and to enter, no longer into the solitude of Carpineto, but into the studious retreat of the Jesuit College at Viterbo.

The masters whom the young Pecci found in this house were not novices. Several of them had just returned from Russia, where the Society of Jesus had continued to exist under the protection of the Muscovite eagle. The Jesuits, protected by the imperial government because of their learning, had not cared to give the lie to the high reputation which they enjoyed. They had applied themselves more than ever to the study and practice of the human sciences, and now they returned to Italy and elsewhere, ripened by work, by travel and by experience, and ready to spread abroad among the younger generations entrusted to their care the treasures amassed during their years of exile.

At the school of such masters the two brothers made rapid progress

in letters and in piety. Vincent charmed all by his innocence and simple grace. Father Ubaldini, the Rector of the College, wrote to their mother on the 20th of April, 1820, in the following terms: "Vincent is always well-behaved and is a great comfort to me. I really think him a little angel." This child of ten years was really an angel in his smiling and genuine piety; he was so likewise in countenance and outward appearance. Unfortunately we do not possess the portrait of Leo XIII when a child, but the family traditions represent him to us with delicate and ruddy color, with gentle glance, having usually that thoughtful attitude which the Christian sculptor gives to the Louis of Gonzaga and to John Berchmanns. Vincent Pecci, moreover, had a particular devotion for John Berchmanns (who at this period had as yet only the title of Venerable), inspired by the words of one of his masters at Viterbo. This devotion, which he preserved all his life, was not without influence upon the canonization of the young Flemish scholastic by Pope Leo XIII. The modest demeanor of the little Vincent had not escaped the notice of his fellow-pupils, who found in him a certain resemblance to a very highly revered image of the Madonna in the colleges of the Society, called *Mater Pictatis*. And they gleefully made a nickname of it.

It is not surprising that, under their influence, Vincent seemed specially drawn to God. Joseph, too, felt the attraction of the altar. This is the reason why Mgr. Carmine Lolli thought that he might propose to confer on them the tonsure, according to the Italian custom, which permits the giving of this first ecclesiastical initiation, without any definite pledge, however, to children who seem to have the call to the priesthood. This proposal at first occasioned some surprise, which the little Vincent confesses to his mother in a letter of the 25th of April, 1821: "Yesterday His Lordship the Delegate had us to dinner, in company with Father Ubaldini and his companion. After dinner he told us that he thought we should take the clerical tonsure. It surprised us a little, and we could not decide in the affirmative. Nevertheless we do not neglect to commend ourselves to the Lord and to the Holy Virgin, in order to be enlightened as to the will of God. We hope that you also will do the same for us, and perhaps with greater success than we could." Is it possible to speak with more charming simplicity? The heart of the little Vincent opening to his mother appears there, pure as crystal! The hesitation of the two brothers did not last, and the young Pecci received the tonsure during the time of their stay at the College of Viterbo.

If Vincent and his brother progressed in piety, they also distinguished themselves greatly in their studies. Vincent brought to them the zeal of a noble soul, sensitive to worthy emulation and already wonderfully open

to the cultivation of the fine in literature. He who writes these lines knew an old Jesuit father who was a fellow-pupil of Joachim Pecci in one of the classes which he attended at Viterbo. The success of the two young people was almost evenly divided and they held turn by turn the head of the class. When his rival had the better of him, Pecci appeared much impressed with the fact and had some difficulty in concealing the pain which he felt at his defeat. "Now," added the old Jesuit, kindly, "there is no more rivalry between us; it is he who is always first!"

It is interesting to discover, in the childhood of great men, the first germs of qualities which are to develop later in life. As an example of this, we may quote a Latin epigram composed at the time of which we speak by the young Pecci, in honor of Father Vincent Pavani, provincial of the Jesuits, who had come to visit the College. We already recognize in it the pure classical Latin which is so much admired in all that comes from the pen of the reigning Pontiff:

Nomine Vincenti quo tu Pavane vocaris
Parvulus atque infans Peccius ipse vocor;
Quas es virtutes magnas Pavane secutus
Oh utinam possim Peccius ipse sequi.

Joachim was twelve years of age when he composed these pretty verses.

The progress made by Vincent and Joseph filled their parents with joy. After a distribution of prizes in which he had crowned the two brothers, Mgr. Lolli wrote to their mother these words, which were well borne out in later years: "These two children, if the Lord preserves their health, will do honor to themselves, to their family and to their country." But the Countess Anna Pecci would not be satisfied with these testimonials alone. She wished personally to investigate the progress and the conduct of her children. With this object, in spite of the distance and the difficulty of communication, she went often to Viterbo, whence she wrote her impressions to her husband. "The Father Rector and Father Giannolio have spoken to me about the boys," she wrote to him one day in a letter preserved at Carpineto. "You cannot imagine how much they praised them both. My heart rejoiced unspeakably at it."

During his stay at Viterbo, Vincent was attacked with inflammation of the bowels which brought him to death's door, and the effects of which his constitution felt ever afterwards. Another still more sorrowful blow fell upon him in 1824; he was summoned from Viterbo to Rome, where his mother, who had gone there to consult the doctors, was suffering from a grave illness. Feeling her end to be near, she summoned her sons Joachim and Joseph to her, and they had the sorrow, but at the

same time the consolation, of closing the eyes of her who had given them birth, and who left them the example of a holy life and of an edifying death.

The pious lady wished to be buried clad in the habit and girt with the cord of the third order of St. Francis. Devoted to the patriarch of Assisi, she had inspired her children with love for him, and the memory of a mother so tenderly loved has no doubt had much to do with the repeated tokens of good-will which Leo XIII has lavished on the third order of the Franciscans.

After this sad event, Joseph entered the Society of Jesus, and Joachim continued his studies at Rome, in the celebrated Roman College which had just reopened its doors under the direction of the Jesuits, and where there were already thronging fourteen hundred students eager to make progress in literary, philosophical and theological studies. Joachim entered there in rhetoric, and carried off the first prize in style and Latin verse, as well as the prize in Greek. He was not less brilliant in his philosophical course, which lasted, according to the custom of the Roman College, for three years under the direction of Father Ferrarini, an eminent philosopher, and of the celebrated Father Pianciani, the first Catholic writer who tried to establish a parallelism between the work of the six days as described in the Book of Genesis and the recent discoveries of geology. We must also name among his masters Father André Carafa. In 1828 Pecci obtained the first prize in physics and chemistry, as well as the first *accessit* in physical mathematics. We can see that the young student had great aptitude for the most different studies. At the end of his course in philosophy, Joachim was appointed to defend publicly, in the Church of St. Ignatius, about two hundred theses in the whole field of philosophy. A serious indisposition prevented him from entering this debate. But the fact that he was chosen for it shows the esteem in which he was held by his masters.

To return to what we have just said about this period of the youth of Leo XIII, let us quote the following lines published in the *Civiltà Cattolica* by one of his former fellow-students: "Having been brought in contact with Joachim Pecci in the Humanities, I can attest that during the time that he was at Viterbo he was admired for his lively intelligence and still more for his excellent conduct. During his studies at Rome he knew neither companions nor diversions nor sports. His work table was his world; to sound the depths of the sciences, his paradise. From the age of twelve or thirteen he wrote in Latin prose and verse with an ease and elegance remarkable for his years."

While the young Pecci was studying philosophy at Rome, a chance circumstance brought him in contact with Pope Leo XII. It was the year

of the Jubilee; Joachim had visited the basilica of St. Peter with his fellow-students to gain indulgences, after which all these young people were admitted to one of the courts of the Vatican to receive the benediction of the Holy Father, which was given to them from a *loggia* of the Palace above. A deputation of students was then invited to present itself to Leo XII. Pecci was a member of the deputation, and it was due, doubtless, to his recognized talents that he was spokesman on behalf of his companions. Certainly the old Pontiff little suspected that the young man who spoke before him would one day ascend the seat of St. Peter under this same name of Leo! It is perhaps from that moment that the peculiar veneration and attachment which Joachim Pecci always had for the memory and person of Leo XII is to be dated, a fact which is said to have caused him to choose the name of Leo in preference to any other.

Another pleasing feature of the youth of the Holy Father belongs to the period of which we speak. Our young student, during his vacations, used to leave the overheated atmosphere of the Eternal City and go to recuperate his strength by breathing the pure mountain air under the refreshing shades of Carpineto. Not far from the little city arose a sanctuary dedicated to the Annunciation. Joachim often turned his steps in this direction. The interest which he had in the chapel of the Madonna induced him to study its origin. The result of these investigations was that the edifice had been built by the Carpinetans with the aid of the Pecci family. He at once composed an elegant inscription in Latin in which these facts were told in lapidary style; and procuring a marble slab he engraved the inscription on it with his own hands. It may still be seen under the portico of the sanctuary.

One of the favorite pastimes of Joachim Pecci during his vacation was hunting. An indefatigable walker, he climbed the neighboring mountains of Carpineto, with gun in hand, and wearied by his eagerness those who accompanied him. The gun which he used is still preserved at Carpineto. It is a flint-lock, with a very long barrel, the butt being worked somewhat in the fashion of Arabian guns. The invigorating air of the mountains, the healthful exercise of hunting, which keeps the muscles in action and the attention alert, speedily restored the student from the fatigues of a scholastic year entirely occupied with hard work.

The pure and studious youth of Joachim Pecci admirably fitted him for the ecclesiastical calling. Our devout student had certainly no idea of the immense consequences which were to result to the whole Church from his docility in following the voice that drew him far from the world.

During his theological studies, his intellectual strength and his ability to work increasingly showed themselves, under the direction of his learned

professors, Father Antoine Kollman, an American and a noted theologian, Father Corneille van Everbroeck, a Belgian and an exegetist of merit, and the Fathers Perrone and Patrizi, to mention only those who are better known. The last mentioned, after more than fifty years in his professorship, had the joy of seeing his pupil sit on the throne of St. Peter, and of being presented to him with his colleagues, the professors of the Gregorian University. It was a touching moment when the new Pope pressed the trembling hand of the venerable octogenarian, his former master!

A striking proof of the esteem in which Pecci was held by his professors is found in the note inscribed on the register of the Roman College. We read that in the year 1830 Vincent Pecci brilliantly sustained a public debate on the subject of Indulgences, and of the sacraments of Holy Orders and of Extreme Unction, and in it gave such indications of his talent that it seemed to be a prelude to higher things.

As for him, he did not seem to suspect his triumph. In a letter to his brother he narrates the different incidents of the debate, and closes with these singularly modest expressions: "It is not for me to judge if the affair were good or bad, because, as it is said, no one is a judge in his own cause; however, I know that the superiors were pleased with it, and they told me that the affair had gone off better than they could have believed. A great number of people were present, so many that there were not enough pamphlets containing the theses to supply those who expected to have copies." Joachim was soon to hear his success confirmed at the distribution of prizes, where mention was made of him in glowing terms.

The Abbé Pecci was, moreover, successful in all scholastic exercises. Father Perrone had founded, at the Roman College, an academy where the students discussed among themselves certain chosen theological subjects. Joachim had one day to defend the vast and difficult thesis of the legislative power of the Church, that power of which he was to be one day the supreme custodian. He pleaded with distinguished success.

A last incident characterized the career of Joachim Pecci as an ecclesiastical student: the position of private tutor was conferred upon him by the authorities of the German College. This fact supposed in him a great knowledge of material and keen intellectual penetration; for neither could be lacking to him who was to be ready at any moment to reply to the objections and to elucidate the difficulties of German metaphysicians! The Abbé Pecci had, as a colleague in the German College, Barnabo Tortolini, who afterwards became one of the most celebrated mathematicians of Italy. He was tutor of physical and mathematical sciences, while Pecci was tutor of logic and of metaphysics. Both had been appointed to fill these positions by the celebrated Father Taperelli,

then prefect of studies at the Roman College, who had been, as we see, fortunate in his choice.

M. Boyer d'Agen,* in his work, traces for us an absolutely fanciful picture of the studies and of the calling of Leo XIII. Joachim Pecci was never that dandy, frequenting the salons, dreaming sadly of the humiliation of Italy and embracing the clerical state as one who has become disillusionized. His youth was entirely taken up with study, and far from dreaming of political earthquakes. Numerous letters addressed to his family mention political events which were going on around him. These letters are written in the most conservative tone and give evidence of a profound respect for authority.

Joachim, who attended the courses of the Roman College as a day scholar, dwelt at the Muti Palace, near the Ara-Coeli, with his uncle, Antony Pecci. His life was as retired and solitary as that of a monk. His only expenses consisted in purchases of books, and his only luxury was to pay for a cup of good coffee in the Piazza di Spagna. We are far, as we see, from the dreamy dilettante whom they are inclined to paint for us.

Yet this austere student was a poet by inheritance. His verses flowed with unequaled spirit. Let us add that they were Latin verses, chaste and intense.

While he was attending the courses at the Roman College, his brother Ferdinando, barely nineteen years of age, was smitten by a contagious disease. Vincent, who stayed with him at their uncle's in the Muti Palace, lavished on him the most attentive care. On the 14th of November, 1830, he wrote to his brother John Baptist: "I am going to sadden you with bad news. Nanno, hardly recovered from a serious indisposition which he had at the first of the month, has been attacked unexpectedly by a dangerous illness. The symptoms are so grave that we fear a fatal issue. . . ." Vincent then describes his brother's condition: "Violent convulsions cause the whole bed to tremble and it takes several persons to hold the patient down. All remedies have been useless; the malady gains the upper hand moment by moment. . . . Poor child," continues Vincent, "it is pitiful to see him and to do things for him. Uncle Antony and I have not stirred out of his sight; but he no longer recognizes us. He keeps his eyes closed all the time and seems to be in agony. What will happen to our dear brother? . . . They have already administered the last Sacraments. Alas! I cannot resist the sorrow which oppresses me, but I commend papa to you."

In the meantime, death finished its work and Vincent, on the 14th of December, wrote to John Baptist: "I loved him, and that is why I am

*Prelature de Leon XIII: Youth of Leo XIII.

in the abode of the living, and I shall not abandon him until, by my tears and by my prayers, he may be established upon the mountain of the Lord, where his merits call him, where there is eternal life, where there reign no corruption, no contagion, no groaning, no sorrow, no communion with death, a veritable region of the living in which this mortal body clothes itself in immortality, and that which is corruptible with incorruptibility. Thus spake St. Ambrose on the death of Theodosius, and thus sorrow makes me speak! Does it not seem, dear brother, that life is really a hateful weight, when a family misfortune so distressing comes to strike us thus unexpectedly with so terrible a blow?" Vincent seeks for the sure consolation of religion: "I have determined to go into retreat for eight days in the Church of St. John and St. Paul, and I shall doubtless enter there the day after to-morrow, that is Thursday. As for you, dear brother, take courage and do not give way to a greater sorrow than nature and humanity demand. Remember these words of Chrysostom: *mortuos oportet succurrere non lacrimis sed precibus.* And since I have spoken to you of prayers, I cannot better close my letter than by these words of St. Ambrose to the soul of the Emperor Valentine: 'You shall be happy if our prayers have any power. Not a day of our life shall close without our speaking of you. None of our prayers shall leave you unmentioned. No night shall pass without our addressing some petition for you. We shall aid you by offerings of all kinds. Who shall hinder us from accompanying you with our prayers? Ah! when I forget you, my arm shall no more be mindful of its owner, my tongue shall cleave to my palate, and if my words are dumb, affection shall speak, and if the voice is wanting, the good-will which is in the heart will not be lacking.' We shall be happy if we can in this way, rather than by tears and vain sorrow, aid the soul of our brother."

Joachim Pecci finished his theological studies in 1832, taking the degree of Doctor. He was then twenty-two years of age. His talents were therefore not less precocious than sound and brilliant. A little while afterwards, we find him at the Academy of Ecclesiastical Nobles, an institution specially intended for young priests of good family who wish to devote themselves to the Roman congregations or to Pontifical diplomacy. He there studied canonical and civil law. Let it suffice to say that in his capacity as a member of the Theological Academy of Sapienza he brilliantly sustained, in 1835, a series of theses dedicated to Cardinal Sala, and that on another occasion he carried off in competition the prize of sixty sequins offered by the University for the best dissertation composed upon a subject drawn by lot from among a hundred theses laid down beforehand. The work, which was crowned, had for its subject the direct appellations of the Roman Pontiff. The University of

Sapienza also conferred on him a very rare distinction, the doctorate *ad honorem* in Theology. The diploma, furnished with the great seals of the Roman University, is dated the 7th of August, 1835.

To close these details regarding the studies of the future Pope, let us borrow an interesting passage from the notice published in 1885 about the celebrated exegetist, Mgr. Reelen, by Mgr. Lamy: "Reelen and his friend Bernard Hafkenscheid had at Rome, for fellow-student and rival, that great promoter of higher studies who is to-day Leo XIII. In the competition of 1829, Pecci obtained the first prize for the morning class and Bernard the *accessit;* Bernard, on the other hand, was first in the evening class and the present Pope second. In another competition, we find Bernard Hafkenscheid first, Reelen second and Pecci third. Leo XIII did not forget his former fellow-student. We read indeed in a letter of the 2nd of May, 1871, addressed by Cardinal Dechamps to Reelen: "The Pope, who has not forgotten your name, remembers you and your work very well; it is not astonishing, then, that he has named you Prelate of his house."

The Abbé Pecci continued otherwise to fulfill the promise of his youth in respect to virtuous habits. They quoted him as a perfect model of regularity in all things, and he shared this proud distinction with the young Duke Riario Sforza, his intimate friend, who in later years, having become Cardinal and Archbishop of Naples, died there in 1877 in the odor of sanctity.

The brilliant course of Joachim Pecci had attracted general attention; hence we see him, when hardly out of the Academy of Nobles, vested with ecclesiastical positions and honored with the esteem of the highest personages in Rome. The illustrious Cardinal Pacci, the faithful companion, in his capacity as protector of the Academy, of the misfortunes and glories of Pius VII, was the first to call the attention of the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XVI, to the Abbé Pecci, and obtained for him, in 1837, the title of Domestic Prelate. But the principal protector and friend of the young priest was Cardinal Sala, who had been the companion and counselor of Cardinal Caprara when he was sent to Paris to arrange the difficult situation of the Church in France, and to negotiate there with Napoleon the First for the conclusion of the Concordat. This same Cardinal Sala played the most honorable part in the troublous times which preceded this memorable act. Hence the young Pecci could not find any one better fitted to initiate him in the career which he was undertaking, and which was to lead him to the Pontificate.

The beginning of his career passed in difficult times. The year 1837, which saw him named, by Gregory XVI, successively domestic

prelate, referendary of the tribunal of the Signature and *ponent* of the Congregation of the Buongoverno, was marked by a terrible invasion of the Eternal City by cholera. Cardinal Sala, placed at the head of the health commission, charged with taking measures against the scourge and with organizing assistance in the midst of the general terror, found Mgr. Pecci an auxiliary full of charity who could preserve his presence of mind in circumstances well fitted to make him lose it. Here is what Joachim wrote on the 16th of August to his brother John Baptist: "If I, too, am to be among the victims, I bow my head to the plans of the Most High, to whom I have already made the sacrifice of my life, in expiation of my faults. My heart is nevertheless tranquil and calm, whatever may happen."

In another letter of the date of September the 17th, he expresses his admiration for the devotion displayed by the Jesuits in assistance rendered to those afflicted with the cholera: "Not one of the Fathers has been attacked, and nevertheless they are day and night in the midst of the sick in all quarters of the city. You will learn with pleasure that our brother Joseph is foremost of all. He had no sooner celebrated his first mass than he began immediately to exercise his offices as a minister with great zeal and charity, hearing confessions, assisting and encouraging the poor cholera-smitten ones at every call. He is away from home all day, and I have hardly been able to speak a few words to him and to kiss his hand out of respect." If Joachim showed so much veneration for consecrated hands, for the charitable and benign hands of his brother, it was because his own had not yet received the sacerdotal unction and because he envied the happiness of him who was already able to sacrifice himself for the spiritual aid of his brothers. But the moment approached when he, too, was to attain the object of his ardent wishes.

He received very soon the sub-deaconate, the deaconate and the priesthood, and prepared himself for them by a long retreat of about three weeks spent at the novitiate of the Jesuits at St. Andrew of the Quirinal. The sub-deaconate was conferred on the 17th of December, 1837, and the deaconate on the 24th of December. After these first ordinations, he wrote to his protector and friend, Cardinal Sala: "After fifteen days of exercises of strict observance, to-day, the feast of Christmas, my spiritual director allows me a little relaxation and authorizes me to concern myself with what has not an immediate relation to the things of the soul. Making use of this liberty, I come to address Your Eminence, and full of joy and spiritual cheerfulness, I am happy to tell you that on Sunday, the 17th, I received the sacred order of the sub-deaconate, and yesterday, by the grace of God, that of the

deaconate. I hope that this joy will last and will increase when I have received the priesthood; but up till now this great step inspires me only with terror, when I consider, on the one hand, the loftiness and sublimity of the sacred office and, on the other, my extreme unworthiness. Do not forget me, Your Eminence, commend me with all your heart, and have me commended by others, to the Lord. I very sincerely assure you that I should like to be a *true* priest, to be able to serve God and to show zeal for His glory, but to do it in all truth, in the sense in which St. Ignace understood it, and in the sense in which, following his example, these His holy children understand it, in the midst of whom I have the happiness of living."

The Cardinal to whom these lines were addressed was greatly edified by them, but seemed to fear lest, under the sway of this fervor, the young priest might enter the Society of Jesus. He replied in the following terms: "You are in such great meditation, and I in such continual distraction! I suppose that your ordination to the priesthood is about to take place, and that consequently your holy joy has arrived at the highest point. I share it in greatest measure, and I hope that you will remember me at the holy altar. I commend your fervor and believe that it will last. *You must not, however, abandon the career which you have undertaken, in which you will be able to render important services to the Church and to the Holy See.*" The Cardinal doubtless did not think that he was speaking so truly!

This same day, the 25th of December, he writes to his brother Charles: "*Dominus vobiscum.* The Lord be with you! I say it to you with all my heart and repeat it! May the Lord be with you! Now that I have been ordained deacon, I have the right to pronounce these sacred words. A few days more and I shall be a priest. The sublimity and loftiness of this dignity, and, on the other hand, my extreme unworthiness, move my soul deeply and make me hesitating and anxious as I see the great day approach. May the God who has called me to His altar give me strength and courage to ascend it with zeal and fervor, and then may He grant me the aid which is necessary for the holy ministry and for answering His Divine call. I should very much like you to have a solemn or private mass celebrated for me that the Holy Spirit may descend upon me with the fullness of His gifts, and I should be very grateful to you for it. I assure you that you could do nothing in the world that would be more agreeable to me, and I am sure that you will not fail to do so."

We cannot read without emotion the touching expressions of humility, of fervor, of confidence in God with which the correspondence of Mgr. Pecci is filled upon the approach of his ordination, especially in

view of the later life of Leo XIII, and when we think of the way in which his prayers have been granted. At last the great day for receiving the priesthood arrived. The venerable Cardinal Odescalchi, then Vicar-General of Gregory XVI, and who, a little later, was to don the humble robe of a Jesuit in the same novitiate in which Joachim Pecci prepared himself for the ordination, was the one to confer upon him the holy unction on the last day of the year 1837. On the following day, assisted by his brother Joseph, Joachim Pecci, priest of the Lord, for the first time ascended the holy altar in the sanctuary of St. Stanislas Kostka in the novitiate of the Jesuits. There, in the room transformed into a chapel, where the angelic Pole gave back his soul to God, opposite the beautiful multi-colored marble statue which represents him lying upon his death-bed, his lips half open with a celestial smile; before the picture of Mary welcoming the soul of her faithful servant to Heaven, the new minister of God for the first time saw descend upon the altar, at his call, Him whose Vicar he was one day to be and whose sacrifice he was mystically to share.

Had he then the vision of this future? Did he hear the voice of the Divine Master murmur to his heart the prophetic words: "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep!" Certain it is that his first zealous enthusiasm escaped in a sign of love like that of the Prince of the apostles: "Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee and that I will lay down my life for Thee." Is not this indeed the sense of the words which we borrowed above from the letters of Joachim?

After the ordination, after the first mass, the new priest is very happy. The 6th of January, 1838, he writes to his brother Charles: "I am at the highest point of exultation, and I bless the Lord with all my soul, who, not content with having clad me in such sublime dignity, gives me this peace and this spiritual joy which really pass all understanding." His memory then turns in a touching manner to those who are no more and his soul yearns toward Mary, the Mother of Sorrows. He writes to his brothers: "I thank you deeply for having so promptly granted the request which I made to have a solemn mass celebrated for me on the day of my ordination. You chose the Church of St. Peter and the altar of the *Addolorata*, and the choice could not have been better. This church, in which the bones of my ancestors and those of our excellent father repose, awakens in me unspeakable thoughts, above all when the memory of it returns at the moment of approaching the awful sacrifice of the altar. Oh! may the infinite price of this sacrifice deliver these souls from the bonds which still hinder their entrance into glory! May it obtain light for them, refreshment and peace, and may the Virgin of Sorrows be their intercessor! May the boundless sorrows which she suf-

On the Road Leading to Carpineto.

Church and Convent of St. Augustin,
Restored and Enlarged by Leo XIII.

1839

tered under the Cross lessen and alleviate the torments which these holy souls have yet to endure! *Fiat! fiat!* . . . ."

In the midst of this sweet and sublime enthusiasm the month of January passed away,—a veritable spiritual crisis in the busy life of Joachim Pecci. Behind him stretched days of study, of uninterrupted intellectual labor; before him was, in a certain sense, the unknown, which, however, held the certainty of tribulations and of near and lasting difficulties in the positions, whatever they might be, in which he would have to engage in the activities of life. This two-fold outlook upon the past and future doubtless increased the thoughtfulness of the young priest during these placid days with God.

For a time, as the ship waits in harbor before breasting the storms, he, too, anchored in the serene waters.

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S. S. CORDIS JESU.

CHAPTER II.

(1838-1843.)

Mgr. Pecci Apostolic Delegate in Benevento—Arrival at Benevento—Illness and Recovery of the Delegate—Reform of the Province—Struggle against Brigandage—Secret Societies—Evidences of Satisfaction of Central Authority—Transfer of Mgr. Pecci to Spoleto, then to Perugia—Importance of the Assignment to Perugia—Visit of Gregory XVI—Success of Mgr. Pecci in the Government of Umbria.

N THE month of February, 1838, barely two months after his ordination, the new priest left Rome to fill a very difficult position which gave evidence of the great measure of confidence that Gregory XVI had reposed in him. The duchy of Benevento which, since the eleventh century, had been a dependence of the Holy See, is surrounded by the kingdom of Naples. At the period of which we speak, this territory, entirely cut off from the rest of the Papal States, was giving serious anxiety to the government of the Pope. It was the haunt of a troop of Neapolitan contrabandists and bandits, remnants of the bands who had traversed the country during the wars of the Empire, and Benevento, because of its situation, and as a result of the political events which had taken place there, was in a state of constant terror from these marauders who had formed a society.

Rich and influential families, having at their command a mob of people ready for anything, despoiled the country with impunity, and the Papal Government, still without a firm foothold, was unable to put an end to this state of things. To stop it there was need of an able man, inflexible in his duty and determined to make justice triumph at any cost. Gregory XVI thought that he had found this man in Joachim Pecci, and his expectation was not deceived.

In February, 1838, then, vested with the title of Delegate, the young dignitary left Rome where, up till then, his life had been passed almost exclusively in the peaceable occupations of study, to take in hand the government of a province given over to anarchy.

With Mgr. Pecci, the firmness of his character had to compensate for his lack of experience and even for the sensitiveness of his disposition. The mission which he undertook was bristling with obstacles. Even the

journey from Rome to Benevento, by almost impassable ways and in a bad season, was for him a serious difficulty. Pecci almost succumbed to it; he had hardly arrived at Benevento when he was violently attacked with malignant fever, due to the fatigue experienced on the way. One of the best doctors was sent for from Naples, who, with his colleagues of Benevento, took the most energetic measures to fight the disease. They began to despair of recovery when Heaven was moved by the prayers of the inhabitants of Benevento and restored the sick one to health.

The illness of Mgr. Pecci had scarcely been learned of in the town than consternation spread abroad. The people of Benevento had perhaps a presentiment that their new Delegate was to restore to them the blessings of order and peace, or possibly they had been won at once by the affability, youth and noble qualities of Mgr. Pecci. One thing is certain, and that is that the people as a whole were deeply moved, and that an immense multitude betook itself in procession to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Grace, situated outside the town. Now, at this moment, a Jesuit, enjoying a great reputation for sanctity, Father Tessandori, rector of the College of Benevento, was at the bedside of the dying priest. This good man touched the sick man with a relic of St. Francis of Hieronymo, praying devoutly that Heaven would hearken to the intercession of the apostle of Naples and grant a recovery, which was begged by all the people. Immediately the condition of the priest began to improve, and a little after, all danger had disappeared. Thus was preserved to Benevento its well-beloved administrator, and to the Church he who was to be its supreme pastor.

During this illness the Pope tried to receive every day news concerning the Delegate of Benevento. If we think of the difficulties of communication, and of the irregularity of the postal service at that time, we shall see there an extraordinary mark of the esteem and interest displayed by Gregory XVI.

The entrance of Mgr. Pecci upon his duties at Benevento being delayed as we have just related, had perhaps given grounds for hope to the brigands, titled and otherwise, who laid waste the province, of a continuation of their insolent rule. They flattered themselves, doubtless, that they would quickly get the better of this young governor, so refined and delicate in appearance, whose health was shaken by a violent disease. Events were not long in proving that they were utterly mistaken, and that a frail body may house an untamable soul.

The government of Joachim Pecci at Benevento is a little epic. Great abuses had crept into this remote province. The public service had to be reorganized, respect for the laws had to be maintained, and, at the same time, conflict with powerful influence had to be avoided, those who

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had defied justice had to be subjugated by force. An organizer, a diplomatist, a general, was necessary; Pecci was all that. Comprehending the situation at a glance, he saw that the principal source of the trouble was the smuggling which always furnished the favorers of disorder with adventurers ever ready for crime. He saw at the same time that, without an understanding with the Neapolitan government with regard to the oversight of the frontier, the repression of smuggling and contrabandism, which was the result of it, was forever impossible. He did not hesitate, therefore, to betake himself in person to Naples to King Ferdinand, in order to contrive, by common agreement, a series of measures suitable for obtaining the desired end.

This point gained, he vigorously set about the great work of the reestablishment of internal order in the province, and, without fear of the formidable anger which he aroused, Mgr. Pecci advanced steadily to the execution of the plan which he had mapped out. To have the bands of brigands mercilessly pursued, to dislodge them from the forests and castles where they had taken refuge, was his first concern. The police and the Papal troops who up till then had appeared powerless or discouraged, amended under the strong impulse of the Delegate, and carried out the heavy task placed upon them.

On the 7th of July, 1839, Mgr. Pecci expresses to his secretary, Filippo Salina, the satisfaction which he feels at the results realized up to that time, particularly as regards the reform of the troops: "The affairs of the province are going in an orderly manner, as it seems to me. Captain P., who, as you know, has succeeded Captain D., gives me every assurance as to the public order of the province. He is much superior to D. (whom I held in great esteem, nevertheless,) in activity, in capability and, I may add, in religion. Thanks to his care, the troops of the garrison have already undergone a salutary reform in morals and in discipline."

Sure, henceforth, of the temper of his troops, the Delegate could push forward operations vigorously. One of the principal items of the difficult campaign was the taking of the town Mascambruni, where fourteen brigands, commanded by a noted chief, fell into the hands of the Papal carbineers, after a regular fight. They were brought to Benevento amid the acclamations of the people, happy to be delivered from such scoundrels, and they there received the just reward for their deeds.

However, to rid the country of brigands of the lower order was not the most difficult part of the Delegate's task. It was far more arduous to reduce and punish the more or less secret heads and organizers of brigandage, that is to say, the rich and noble land-owners who derived a revenue from the pillage and depredation carried on for their profit by

the bandits; and here it was that the energetic impartiality of the courageous governor was most strikingly displayed. They had attempted vainly to plead the right of titles, of the patronage of high persons or the power of insolent wealth. When it was a question of right and justice, Pecci was unyielding.

One day a noble of the province came to the Delegate and reproached him angrily with the violation of privileges which he claimed were due him in his position of marquis, and of which the employes of the Pontifical customs were making light. Mgr. Pecci, without losing his usual affability, represented to him that he could not absolve him from the obligation to obey laws made for all. Believing, doubtless, that he could impose on the priest, the marquis insolently declared that he was going to Rome, and that he would return with the dismissal of the Delegate. "Very well, my Lord Marquis," replied Mgr. Pecci; "but remember that before carrying your complaints to the Vatican, you must pass by the Castle of St. Angelo."

This answer contained a play of words which expressed a threat. To reach the Vatican, you pass by the Castle of St. Angelo, which is a celebrated prison. The Delegate showed that he knew all about the crimes of the marquis, and that he might have him punished. The noble chief of the brigands lost countenance and withdrew in a state of terror. A little while after his castle was taken by assault and all the bandits whom he had protected fell into the hands of the Papal troops.

This anecdote makes us understand the bearing of the testimony which Mgr. Pecci gave himself, in writing, on the 28th of October, 1838, to his family: "The affairs of the province are in order, and the opinion of the majority, I mean of the people, is favorable to me. Duty is the guide to my actions, and I systematically avoid laying myself under obligation to any one and am on my guard against factions and subterfuges. These tactics are little pleasing to the nobles and partisans of the opposite system, but they have earned me the title of friend of justice, and they satisfy my own conscience and the public." Noble words wherein we see the spirit of the upright magistrate, struggling against corruption and inaccessible to its allurements!

The organized brigandage which was rife in the duchy of Benevento was not the only thing against which Mgr. Pecci had to struggle; an incident, apparently trifling, put him on the track of other adversaries still more dangerous, perhaps.

Two men had a quarrel one day and one gave the other a stab with a knife, a daily occurrence among the records of the Italian police, and one which was not of a nature to disturb the Delegate, if certain circumstances had not made him suspect that the victim was the leader

of a secret society having for its aim "the promotion of the good of others, but affecting an air of Liberalism." These are the words which Mgr. Pecci uses in his report to the Cardinal Secretary of State Lambruschini.

The Delegate, who understood the necessity of stringent measures in this province which had so long been accustomed to disorder, had in the first place all those implicated in the affair arrested and sentenced at Rome. The Secretary of State, before ordering this measure, asked for a detailed account of the matter. After a new inquiry, the Delegate sent a second report to the Cardinal which is very curious and which throws light upon the organization of the revolutionary sects in the south of Italy at this time.

After due consideration, Mgr. Pecci thought himself correct in maintaining his former conclusions, both with regard to the existence of a secret society at Benevento, and with regard to the leader of the sect, included in the quarrel of which we have spoken. But *legal* proofs were lacking and nothing might be hoped from the testimony of honest people. Different considerations led the Delegate to believe that the members of the sect in question were closely connected with the ancient *Carbonari.* He adds to his report a copy of the very complicated statutes of these celebrated conspirators, and ends with these words: "I am persuaded that a trial would do little for what is a common crime and nothing at all as far as the political significance of the affair is concerned."

Thus the clever sectarians succeeded in passing between the meshes of the law, and thus gradually they made Italy: *Italia fara da se.*

But Mgr. Pecci did not confine himself to restraining disorder; he took the best measures for increasing the wealth and the well-being of the principality, without forgetting to care for its moral and religious interests. He had roads constructed in the directions of Campobasso and Avellino, thus giving openings for commerce and agriculture. He obtained the diminution of certain taxes which weighed too heavily upon the people.

It was, moreover, on the advice of Mgr. Pecci that Gregory XVI gave up the idea, cherished by the Neapolitan government, of exchanging the province of Benevento for other territory. What led the Delegate to dissuade him from this exchange was the spiritual interest of the peoples of this province, who, under the Pontifical administration, found more assurances of religion and morality than they would have had under the authority of the King of Naples.

In the midst of all these affairs, the time drew near when Mgr. Pecci was obliged to leave Benevento. At Rome his activity and integrity were becoming better and better appreciated. A little while before being called to a more conspicuous position, Mgr. Pecci received a very flatter-

ing testimony of the esteem in which he was held by the central administration.

In consequence of the measures which the Delegate had adopted to restore order in the finances and in the administration of the principality, Cardinal Tosti, general pro-treasurer, on the 2nd of April, 1841, sent him the following message: "I have delayed in writing to you because I wished that with my letter there might arrive at least a testimony of the gratitude which the government owes you for the reforms carried into effect by you during your delegation. I have represented to the Holy Father the creditable results which your Lordship has obtained in this matter, and His Holiness has learned with pleasure all that has been done and the great improvement in what concerns the people of Benevento. He has given you in regard to it the praise which was your due. It is real pleasure for me to communicate it to you. . . ." Nothing could be more flattering for the young Delegate, who, having arrived at the age of twenty-eight, in a province given up to disorder, had in less than three years restored peace and prosperity.

After such brilliant administrative success, it is not surprising that Gregory XVI decided to confer a higher and less difficult task upon Mgr. Pecci. In 1841 he was recalled to Rome and entrusted with the delegation of Spoleto, which was immediately changed for that of Perugia, one of the most important of the Pontifical States, especially from a political point of view. This town was influenced by the spirit of the Revolution, which had there its agents and secret committees. A firm hand, a sagacious mind, a man capable of reforming without destroying and of pacifying without giving way, was needful. Mgr. Pecci had been tried at Benevento. He was sent to the capital of Umbria. Perugia was destined to have intimate relations with Joachim Pecci. She was soon to possess as Bishop him whom she received then as Delegate; and it was from his beloved Perugia that Cardinal Pecci was called to assume the government of the Church Universal.

The administration of Mgr. Pecci at Perugia lasted only one year. During this short space of time he marked its passage with an activity fertile in happy results. A little after the new Delegate's arrival, Gregory XVI visited the frontier and Umbria. Perugia, the capital of this latter province, prepared, at the instigation of its Delegate, to receive the august Pontiff in a worthy manner.

The town is situated on the top of a high mountain, whence one has an admirable view over the neighboring hills and over the smiling plains of Umbria. A situation so picturesque is far, however, from rendering easy the approach to the proud Perugia, who seems to wish to make the traveler pay dearly for the sight of the artistic treasures sheltered in her

bosom and for the panorama which she unrolls at his feet. Mgr. Pecci believed that he would be rendering a service to the town if he improved this difficult approach. In less than twenty days he had had a new and convenient road finished, which leads to the town running along the steep side of the mountain, a work worthy of the ancient Romans. Gregory XVI inaugurated the new way, and from his name it was called *Gregorian.* The Pope, charmed with the activity and services of the Delegate, not less than by the enthusiastic welcome which he received from the people placed under his government, gave him evidence of his satisfaction at it. " In my journey through the provinces," said he to him, smiling, " I have in some places been received like a monk, in others like a Cardinal, but in Anconia and Perugia really like a sovereign." Before leaving Umbria, the Pontiff said to the Delegate these significant words: " When you return to Rome, Monsignor, I shall remember you."

We shall quote here some facts relating to the administration of Mgr. Pecci at Perugia. We shall see in them his great activity, the breadth of his views and the deep interest which he took in the interests of his people, even under forms at that time still little practiced and little known. One of his first cares was to concentrate the different courts of the capital in a single palace, in order to facilitate thus the ready administration of justice. He visited in person all his province and proceeded to the reorganization of the municipalities. He took a lively interest in the founding of a savings bank at Perugia, and was one of those who subscribed to its original capital. When Mgr. Pecci left Perugia, Count Conestabile delle Staffa addressed to him, in the name of the Magistrate, in a letter of the 16th of February, 1843, the expression of the " lively and sincere gratitude of the town" for what he had done in the matter of the savings bank. It is interesting to see the future Pope show, in 1843, so much interest in a work of which the immense advantage to society has been properly understood only in these last few years. The Delegate, however, had an eye for everything. Public instruction did not escape his watchfulness; the College Rosi de Spello owed to him a most happy economic and disciplinary transformation. The good administration of the Delegate in all branches of the government bore its fruit. The people were happy, security reigned everywhere; and they make mention of this extraordinary fact, that for several days the prisons remained entirely empty for lack of offenders.

On reading the narrative of what Mgr. Pecci did during his delegations at Benevento and Perugia, we feel that there was in him the material for the head of a state. Certainly if it had been granted to him to mount the Papal throne in normal times, if he had been permitted to enter into possession of the temporal authority to which he has the right, he would have made his subjects happy.

Church of St. Bernardino, Perugia

The Room in Which Leo XIII Was Born.

The Bedroom in Pecci Palace, Carpineto,
Occupied by Leo XIII When He Was Cardinal.

CHAPTER III.

(1843-1846.)

Mgr. Pecci is Appointed Nuncio at Brussels—His Consecration as a Bishop —Arrival in Belgium—State of the Country—Relations of the Nuncio with the King and Royal Family—Religious Activity of the Nuncio—His Impressions Concerning Belgium—The University of Louvain—The Belgian College at Rome—The Law on the Juries of Examination and the Application of the Law of 1842 to Primary Education—The Schism of Ronge—Reform of the Religious Orders—End of the Nunciature of Mgr. Pecci—Examination of Some Questions Concerned with this Nunciature—Departure from Belgium and Arrival in Italy.

URING his sojourn among the Belgians, Joachim Pecci attached himself to their country with all the affection of his great heart, and since then Belgium has been to him like a second Fatherland. The balance of this chapter will show that his mind and heart found there ample material for study and affection. Mgr. Pecci was to carry away from Belgium impressions which, we may say, were reflected in the remainder of his life, and the trace of which might be found, perhaps, in many acts in the Pontificate of Leo XIII. That is a cause of just pride for the Belgians, a cause also of special love for the Pontiff who was their guest, and who has remained their friend.

Mgr. Pecci received, at the commencement of January, 1843, his nomination to the Nunciature of Brussels. It was a surprise to him. With the first impressions of anxiety and confusion which he communicated to his brother in a letter of the 12th of January, is mingled the touching regret at the thought of the happiness which his parents would have experienced, if they had been able to be present at the sudden elevation of their dear son. "Oh! if our excellent parents had been still alive! I cannot think of it without feeling my heart torn asunder!"

To Cardinal Bussi, Archbishop of Benevento, Mgr. Pecci wrote on the same day: "This position, although very honorable, and in other respects very desirable, causes me concern, knowing as I do my insufficiency in the presence of the numerous duties which it imposes upon me. My departure, then, will not be presumption, but an act of filial obedience to the Sovereign Pastor and of resignation to the hidden will of Heaven." With such sentiments, Joachim Pecci could understand and accept,

without taking offense, the words which one of his aunts, Mother Theresa Cherubine of Jesus, Abbess of the Monastery of Cori, wrote to him on the 23rd of January, 1843: "Oh! how many graces the Lord bestows upon us! Oh! what blessings! The greater the blessings of God, the greater ought to be your gratitude toward Him. Attribute all these honors to God, for it is to Him alone that the glory is due; without His aid we can do nothing, and in His presence we are nothing. Do not become proud with worldly honors, for they disappear like smoke, but do all with upright intention, for the glory of God; love Him and serve Him with all your heart, because He deserves it, and do so at the same time for your own well-being, since in so doing you will lay up great treasure for eternal life."

The new Nuncio, however, had more need of being inspired with confidence than of being exhorted to humility. All his letters of this period breathe forth a kind of discouragement. The 26th of January he wrote to Mgr. d'Andrea, the Swiss Nuncio: "Here I am now your companion in the glorious arena of religion. But with what expectations? With what strength to give support to these expectations? I prefer to drive away thoughts which trouble me in the confidence that He who has begun the work will deign to finish it, for I have nothing to expect but from Him." The words *"He"* and *"Him"* are twice underlined in the original, as if to call attention to the source whence Joachim Pecci expected aid in the midst of the disquietude with which lack of confidence in his own abilities inspired him.

Mgr. Pecci's answer to a Passionist, February 13th, expresses his feelings at this period: "Your very kind and welcome letter reached me at a really opportune moment. The very honorable appointment which has just been conferred upon me by the Holy Father is of such a nature that I cannot help recognizing my poor forces as entirely inadequate for the duties which are to devolve upon me, nor can I help getting ready for my mission with great fear. Hence letters of encouragement which tend to inspire me with confidence are extremely grateful to me, because I feel more and more the need of it. Yours was of this kind, and therefore I thank you for it with all my heart. . . . I beg you to commend me to the Lord in your prayers in order that, not having regard to my unworthiness, but to the good of the Church, He may deign to assist me with His divine grace in the difficult career which I am about to undertake."

These letters, in which so much humility is mingled with so much piety, will perhaps astonish those who imagine,—and there are such even among Catholics,—that a Papal Nuncio is a kind of worldly diplomatist, wearing a cassock and thinking only of success and advancement.

Joachim Pecci, however, did not confine himself to praying and trembling; he adopted also the human means necessary for supporting himself in the fulfillment of his mission. Among the means suggested by prudence, there is none more efficacious than counsel. Now what better guide could Mgr. Pecci have desired than his predecessor at Brussels, Mgr. Fornari, then Nuncio at Paris, afterwards Cardinal, whose pupil he had been at the Ecclesiastical Academy? "I shall greet for you," he wrote Mgr. d'Andrea, in the letter already quoted, "our common master, Mgr. Fornari, whom I shall meet again with the greatest pleasure, and not without profit, as I expect for myself very useful advice from his wisdom and experience." He could not have gone to a better man. "Fornari," said the Baron de Haulleville, "was soon very popular in Belgium. Full of activity and shrewdness, open-minded, in a very short time he knew our country by heart. He saw many people and everybody. The King liked his conversation, and M. van Praet had a genuine affection for him. . . . And the extraordinary thing about it all was that Fornari, beloved by the King, was *persona grata* at once to the clergy, to the parliamentary Right and to the Left." It was to this experienced diplomatist that Mgr. Pecci wrote immediately upon his nomination to ask his advice. Mgr. Fornari welcomed with alacrity the advances of his young colleague, and the result was a voluminous correspondence, full of confidences, in which many topics of general or private interest are treated. We shall, in the course of this chapter, have occasion to borrow from the letters of Mgr. Fornari; they display towards the Nuncio at Brussels an almost paternal tenderness and bear witness to a great esteem for his talents and his worth.

It has seemed interesting to us to reveal here some glimpse of a course of action of an historic and public order. This inner view, so to speak, of outward events, seems to us to have a peculiar charm. In the present case, it puts in its true light the procedure of the Nuncio Pecci in Belgium, showing us at the same time the aspirations of his soul and the motives hidden from the eyes of the men who made him act during the course of his mission.

While Joachim Pecci was absorbed in the affairs which we have just described, the news of his appointment reached Belgium. The former Delegate of Benevento was but little known there, as might have been expected; he had, however, a devoted friend there, his former fellow-pupil at the Ecclesiastical Academy, Canon Theodore of Montpelier, who became later Bishop of Liege, and who had, before dying, the pleasure of seeing him raised to the See of St. Peter.

Cardinal Lambruschini, the Secretary of State, wished to consecrate

the new Nuncio himself, and the ceremony took place with the greatest solemnity in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence in *Panisperna* in the presence of the Belgian Legation to the Holy See, having at its head Count Oultrement de Warfusee.

Mgr. Fornari, who had not yet left Brussels, wrote to M. Noyer, the diplomatic agent of Belgium at Rome, a little after the ceremony of which we have just spoken: "I knew already that the Belgian Legation had been present in a body at the consecration of Mgr. Pecci, and I knew also that this consecration was extremely edifying because of the extreme piety of the one performing the consecration and of the one receiving it." Then the Brussels Nuncio expressed in these remarkable terms his judgment upon him who was to succeed him: "One cannot doubt that Mgr. Pecci is a prelate of great piety, of great talent and much learning; he is perhaps a little too timid in character, or rather his extreme modesty resembles timidity, but that is atoned for by his highly reflective mind and by his prudence, thanks to which he will never make a false step. I did not know that he did not speak French at all. That certainly will prove a hindrance to him by lessening his relations with the persons with whom he will come in contact; but he will gradually familiarize himself with this tongue, and will finally be able to talk to everyone. Moreover, as you very properly say, he means well and that will make up for the defect of language. Believe me, he is a man of such conscientiousness and uprightness of purpose that he will neglect no means of accomplishing all his duty and of making himself useful to the good cause."

Mgr. Pecci remained at Rome for a month after his consecration to the office of Bishop. Then he had to think of leaving for his far-away post. At this time the journey to Belgium was not such an easy matter as to-day. The sea voyage was one of difficulty and there were endless delays along the roads of Switzerland and Germany. On the 19th of March, the feast of St. Joseph, the patron saint of Belgium, Mgr. Pecci embarked at Cività Vecchia, on the steamboat "Sesostris." On the 21st he arrived at Marseilles, and by way of Reims and Mézières entered Belgium on the 7th of April. He was accompanied by Canon Clementi, his auditor, the Abbé Pilaja, his secretary, having preceded him by a few days.

As Mgr. Fornari said, the new Nuncio was entirely ignorant of French at the time of his appointment. But with the energy of his iron will, he set about studying this language, the knowledge of which was so indispensable. He did nothing else along the way, and being delayed a couple of weeks at Mimes by illness, he took advantage of the delay by getting some lessons in French. When he arrived at Brussels, he possessed sufficient knowledge of the language to make himself understood.

Entirely contrary to the custom, we believe, of the Court of Rome, Mgr. Pecci was furnished with a letter from Gregory XVI, which recommended him in some measure to the Belgian clergy. This letter, addressed to Cardinal Stercx and his suffragans, said:

"This letter will introduce to you Our venerable brother Joachim, Archbishop of Diametta, Our Nuncio and that of the Holy See. We commend him earnestly to you, very dear son, and to Our venerable brothers. In all affairs of which he will treat with you in Our name, you will bestow on him the same confidence which you would bestow on Us Ourselves, if We were speaking in your presence; and, with the devotion and respect which you bear to the Apostolic See, you will aid him everywhere that he may have need of your counsel and assistance to accomplish successfully the very important mission with which he is charged. You will find him a man remarkable for piety, integrity, uprightness, prudence and his qualities of mind; hence we doubt not but that he will gain your particular good-will. We shall be mindful of all your good offices on his behalf and We shall be as grateful for them as if they had been rendered to Us Ourselves."

The mission of Mgr. Pecci had almost a fatal ending even before he had been installed. The new Nuncio, who had not yet presented his letters to the King, was coming from Malines, where he had been to visit Cardinal Stercx, to Brussels along the Vilvorde Canal. Not far from this town, the horses of his carriage, left to themselves by the coachman, took fright just as they were crossing a bridge and were on the point of throwing themselves, with the carriage, into the canal when the vicar of a neighboring parish threw himself courageously at the heads of the terrified animals, stopped them and prevented a catastrophe which would have had consequences of supreme importance for the history of the Church. The Nuncio, somewhat shaken by this accident, as one may imagine, accepted for a few hours the hospitality of the neighboring curé; then, not wishing any longer to drive, he reached Brussels on foot, like the good walker he was.

Mgr. Fornari, on learning of the risk which his friend had run, wrote him in a state of concern: "What news is this that I hear, Monsignor? I should never have expected such tidings as you gave in your letter of the 25th. Certainly the Lord protected you in that terrible moment, for the horses might quite easily have missed the entrance to the bridge or have dashed against the side, and the one thing would have been as bad as the other." Then, with touching anxiety, the Paris Nuncio asks for details about the accident, and kindly chides his friend "for having exposed himself to the chill night which must have been damp along that canal."

All's well that ends well. The misadventure had no further consequences, and Mgr. Pecci was able to present his letters to Leopold I, who did not fail to jest with him about his accident and his entry on foot into Brussels.

The young Nuncio, hardly thirty-three years of age, found himself placed in an interesting theater for one of his observing mind.

The country which he was entering was very different from Italy; one point only, perhaps, linked the two peoples together—it was their common faith, their truly Christian spirit and general practice of the Catholic religion. On the whole, Belgium presented the appearance of a people rich, intelligent, industrious and sincerely attached to the faith of their fathers. We shall not say that the Catholics were always exempt from illusions. We shall not say that one might not have been able then to point out great threatening clouds on the horizon. Societies bound to absolute secrecy were already working in the shadow; under the mask of a hypocritical respect for religion, their chiefs were already seducing the unwary and weakening the Catholic spirit of the country. The situation, however, was in some respects consoling, especially after the vote by both parties upon the law of 1842 with regard to primary education, a law which gave the brightest hopes for the religious future of the country.

This situation was thus described by Cardinal Lambruschini in the instructions given to the new Nuncio: "The Catholic religion and the exercise of the Episcopal authority enjoy in Belgium, by the Divine Mercy, a liberty which they lack only too often in other kingdoms. It is the strict duty of the Apostolic Nuncio to protect this liberty. To attain this end, the Nuncio must not show himself animated with an indiscreet zeal, much less with any party spirit." Such was, in short, to be the rule of conduct for Mgr. Pecci in the sometimes delicate circumstances in which he found himself during the course of his nunciature.

One readily sees what a vast field for study the internal situation of Belgium offered to the Nuncio, and how fruitful were to be the observations which he was able to make on Catholic action in the bosom of modern society, on the dangers with which political license threatened this same society, on the needs, illusions, evils and hopes of the new world which seemed to wish to arise on the ruins of the old. Nowhere was this kind of fermentation, this mixture of different elements which sought now to exclude and now to conciliate with more or less reason and good faith, more visible or more active than in Belgium; and, if a commonplace comparison be allowed us, it was in Belgium that the pulse of modern society had to be felt to learn what might be expected from its life and what unrest was disturbing it inwardly. Ought we not to recognize a manifest ruling of Providence in the stay of Mgr. Pecci in Belgium at

a time so interesting and so decisive? Is this not one of the means of which God made use to enable him to gain that profound knowledge of the modern world and of the remedies necessary for its condition, which the Encyclicals of Leo XIII evince? But at this time Belgium was not merely interesting from the point of view of its internal politics; it was still more so from the point of view of the general politics of Europe. Leopold I, by his German origin, by his connection with the reigning family of France, by the close relations which he had preserved with England after the death of his first wife, the Princess Charlotte, shared the counsels of those who directed the politics of the whole world. Furthermore, his really remarkable personal qualities, his wisdom, his good judgment and even his majestic appearance and unequaled courtesy gained for him a preponderating influence in the councils of kings, who chose him by preference for the arbitrator of their differences. One may judge from this fact what interesting features were offered by a diplomatic post at Brussels.

The new Nuncio was not slow in appreciating King Leopold. From the beginning of his stay in Belgium he had expressed to Mgr. Fornari the favorable impression made upon him by his first relations with the royal family. The affability and tact of Mgr. Pecci at once gained the attention of King Leopold, whose good judgment was never deceived in the merits of men. He made a friend of him and the Nuncio became the guest of the court; the King consulted him often and was pleased sometimes to raise embarrassing questions. But the Nuncio always extricated himself honorably, and the King said, smiling: "Really, Monsignor, you are as good a politician as you are an excellent bishop." On her part, Queen Louise-Marie was very much attached to him.

The relations of Mgr. Pecci with the King, with the political and aristocratic circles, were excellent; those with the Belgian clergy were not less friendly.

One of the first festivals at which he assisted was the crowning of the miraculous image of Our Lady of the Chapel of Brussels. This ceremony took place on the 25th of May, 1843, in the midst of an immense throng of people, and was accompanied with an admirable display of religious feeling. The King, the Queen and the young Duke of Brabant were present. It was to the Nuncio that this was due on this occasion. He suggested the idea and was the cause of the advantages which resulted from it. The coronation was performed by Cardinal Sterckx, Archbishop of Malines, who, immediately afterward, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin the royal family and the whole Belgian nation. When the King, Queen and the young Duke of Brabant came out of the church, the excitement of the people, hitherto pent up, burst forth in enthusiastic

cries; and all might see how much the sovereigns gained by uniting themselves in the public profession of the faith of their subjects instead of opposing or despising it, as they too often do.

The newspapers of the time show us Mgr. Pecci taking part in all the forms of Christian life in Belgium, officiating in cathedrals and churches, now visiting religious institutions or presiding at meetings of the pious laity, such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and present at annual reunions in which the bishops are accustomed to discuss the weightier interests of the Church. The wisdom of Mgr. Pecci, added to his exquisite politeness, his perfect knowledge of affairs at Rome and those of the country, on more than one occasion threw light on these deliberations and gained for the Nuncio the particular esteem and gratitude of the members of the Belgian episcopacy.

The charitable association in which the Nuncio interested himself most was that of the Holy Childhood, then coming into existence. Mgr. de Forbin-Janson, after having been morally compelled by the government of Louis Philippe to resign the Bishopric of Nancy, because of the ardor of his Legitimist opinions, had applied his zeal and his tremendous activity to the organization and propagation of this society. He made for this purpose a trip to Belgium, and stayed there for a considerable time. He bore a letter from Mgr. Fornari, asking the Brussels Nuncio to support the proceedings of the founder with the bishops. Mgr. Pecci took the thing very much to heart and put all his influence at the service of the plans of the former Bishop of Nancy, who wrote from Brussels to the Abbé Jammes, on the 11th of July, 1843: ". . . I have not yet been able to meet the Cardinal of Malines; it is not necessary, however. The Nuncio has given me very strong letters to the other bishops of Belgium." The following are the terms in which Mgr. Pecci praised the work of the Holy Childhood: "It is sufficient to be acquainted with it, in order for it to inspire the greatest interest. . . . I esteem myself happy in contributing to its greatest possible development, to attain the noble and generous end which it sets before itself."

The climate did not agree with Mgr. Pecci. His health suffered from it, but he held scrupulously to his post. "I have twice seen," he writes, "Louvain, celebrated for its Catholic University, and Malines, the residence of the Cardinal. I might often have had the opportunity of going to Antwerp, Gand, Liège, and so forth, but I have not done so as I do not wish to leave the capital without some serious reason." Some time after he decided, however, to make an excursion into Flanders. Bruges appeared to him "a town very interesting by reason of its memories and monuments, but it gives me more pleasure from the fact of the firmness and constancy of the population to the Catholic faith."

Children's Asylum in Carpineto,
Erected by Leo XIII.

Front of Carpineto Cathedral,
Restored by Leo XIII.

A Picturesque Corner in Carpineto.

A Street in Carpineto.

In a letter of the 10th of April, 1844, he thus expresses his opinion of the Belgian people in general: "In what concerns myself, I have only cause for satisfaction, because of the goodness and sound religion of this Belgian people. The Catholic sentiment is happily still predominant in the nation and in the Chambers; the ministry is not opposed to it, and the King, although a Protestant, favors it. With such features in our favor, we continue to fight, seeing the condition of the times in which we live; but usually we triumph."

After the expedition made by Mgr. Pecci into Flanders, Mgr. Fornari wrote him in a cheerful mood: "I am rejoiced at the kindly welcome which you have received at the hands of these well-disposed and excellent bishops. Were you not pleased to see this noble, faithful country, where the Christians are really Christians? You see how you have been welcomed everywhere, and then you do not wish me to say that the Nuncio of Brussels is the happiest of all nuncios? The nunciature of Brussels is the flower of nunciatures, and Belgium the terrestrial Paradise of nuncios. Prepare yourself for the time when you will have to pass to another post. Whatever it be, you will see that what you now call thorns will seem to you roses. To begin with Belgium is a fine novitiate . . ."

On the 14th of February, 1844, Mgr. Pecci wrote to his family: "I heartily re-echo your wish to see me return one day there to the paternal hearth, but you are not ignorant that before this wish can be fulfilled, a long period of time must elapse, perhaps ten years, perhaps more. And who can promise himself ten years of life? In things of this kind, so uncertain and so remote, although wishes are always well received, it is perhaps better to leave it entirely to Providence. The occupations and duties which devolve upon me are extremely delicate and difficult; you will understand that without my saying more on the subject. I only beg you to have me present in your prayers, that the Lord may aid me by His holy grace. May your morning prayer arise from the sides of Mount Capreo and be welcomed to Heaven for my blessing and that of Belgium. It will be the first time, I think, that Carpineto and Belgium have met up yonder."

If that future which Mgr. Pecci questioned anxiously in the lines which we have just read had been suddenly disclosed to his eyes, the Nuncio of Brussels might have seen himself, thirty-four years after, almost to the day, given charge by the Conclave of the glorious weight of the tiara. It was toward this end that he was being guided by that Providence to whom he abandoned himself with so much confidence. Distrustful of himself, and ever ready to receive advice and counsel, he feared greatly that he was not fully accomplishing the duties of his post.

We find a proof of his merit and humility in an incident preserved to us in the correspondence of Mgr. Fornari. This prelate had disapproved of the Brussels Nuncio's way of acting in a certain circumstance. Mgr. Pecci showed him, with the greatest mildness, the reasons which had dictated his conduct, and the Paris Nuncio was so much pleased with this reply that he expressed his admiration for it to him in the following terms:

" Permit me, Monsignor, in all frankness and without offending your modesty, to tell you that your letter was a veritable lesson to me. I have known already, for many years, your ability, which I have always had occasion to admire, but this time it is really highly instructive. You might very well have told me to attend to my own affairs without meddling with those of others; on the contrary, you thank me for my observations, and, with truly Christian humility, you add that my letter has been very pleasing to you. In reality I had repented of what I had written because (I recognized it myself) I had been thoughtless, and here you thank me for it. I am extremely grateful to you for the kindness with which you deigned to receive my thoughtlessness, and I rejoice with you, being certain that your nunciature will succeed perfectly, because the Lord raises those who humble themselves. Pardon me, then, my dear sir, and bless the Lord who has given you such noble qualities. May He grant that I may not only admire you, but that I may also have the strength to imitate you." This letter honors both him who wrote and him who received it, and shows in what esteem Mgr. Fornari held his young colleague at Brussels.

Let us resume now the account of the facts which marked the nunciature of Mgr. Pecci in Belgium.

Mgr. Pecci had been in his youth a remarkable student; he remained a conspicuous friend of science and literature. As Nuncio in Belgium, he could not fail to be interested in all that concerned instruction in this country, hence we see him visiting institutions of learning and taking a particular delight in doing so.

The University of Louvain, which crowns and sums up in some measure all the efforts of the Catholics in the matter of education, was the first to attract his attention. We see him honor the young University with his presence in the first year of his nunciature, on the occasion of the theses for the licentiate in canon law, defended by M. Loiseaux, priest of the diocese of Tournai, well known to-day for his theological works and for those of a canonical nature, under the name of Pere Piat, of the order of the Capuchins.

Our duty as historian does not allow us to be silent about the fact that the Nuncio had to concern himself with doctrinal questions on which the

instruction of the University left itself open to criticism. The influence of Lamennais had made itself greatly felt in Belgium, and his traditionalism seduced many good minds by its appearance, which was not only inoffensive, but which conformed to the fundamental doctrine of the Church upon tradition. This ontology also, with its spiritualistic allurements and its specious metaphysics, attracted numbers of distinguished minds; and in the midst of the confusion caused by the neglect of the scholastic philosophy, some thinkers, otherwise noted and well-meaning, clung to this doctrine as the sheet anchor of safety for Christian philosophy. Several professors of the University of Louvain were more or less advanced partisans of traditionalism and ontology.

Mgr. Pecci was the first Nuncio who had to bring this question formally before the bishops. Some years were necessary yet to disabuse the minds enamored of these systems, so seductive for those given up to abstract speculations. Rome had from the first perceived the falsehood that was in these doctrines. They are to-day buried in the tomb of the dead philosophies, and no one, either among Catholics or among the heterodox, would uphold them. Rome, as always, had seen correctly. But while disapproving of the doctrines, she did justice to the men, and no one more than the Nuncio Pecci was able to appreciate the intentions and excellencies of the learned ecclesiastics whose views, in the name of Rome, he was to criticise.

This is the place to recall the part which Mgr. Pecci took in the founding of the Belgian Ecclesiastical College at Rome, and the benevolence which since then he has not ceased to display towards this institution. The Belgian College was called into existence by the Belgian bishops, on the suggestion of Mgr. Aerts, then rector of the national Church of St. Julian of the Belgians at Rome. The founding of it was decided upon at the annual reunion of the bishops in 1844. Mgr. Pecci there warmly supported the proposition, citing the example of other nations which possessed colleges in the Eternal City, and showing the great advantages which could not fail to result from the erection of similar institutions about the Throne of St. Peter. He had the satisfaction of seeing, during the time of his nunciature, the opening of this institution in which he was not less interested than the bishops.

Mgr. Pecci always kept a special affection for the college which he had helped to found. Later, when he betook himself from Perugia to Rome, he was pleased to reside there; he liked to converse with the students, he inquired about their studies and gave them paternal advice in private as well as in public. He took pleasure also in welcoming them to the Bishopric of Perugia, when the holidays gave them occasion to pass through this town. In a word, he brought back for the Belgian College

the lively affection which he had had for Belgium. After becoming Pope, Leo XIII did not forget the Belgian College. He bestowed on it a first mark of honor and remembrance at the beginning of his Pontificate, by calling Mgr. van den Branden de Reeth, its president, to become a member of the Pontifical House, in the capacity of Secret Participant Chamberlain, and since then he has not ceased to lavish on the establishment the most precious marks of his interest and affection. On the 10th of July, 1888, he gave the crowning mark of his kindness toward the Belgian College by assigning to it a capital of a hundred thousand francs, intended for the support of seven ecclesiastical students belonging to all the dioceses of Belgium. This royal gift was accompanied by a *motu proprio* most honoring to the Belgian clergy in general and to the Belgian College at Rome in particular. In it Leo XIII recalls with satisfaction the part which he took in the founding of this institution during the time of his nunciature in Belgium; he bears witness to the qualities recognized by him in the clergy of that country. "We were able once to see the Belgian priests near at hand; neither time nor place has been lacking for Us to admire their discipline, their zeal and their charity." He makes reference to the good which the Belgian College has done, "which for forty years and more has borne fruit worthy of admiration and gives promise that it will unceasingly do so. We know indeed that there have come out from it a number of men rich in knowledge and virtue, and profoundly versed in sacred things, whose activity is exercised with utility and uprightness, aiding the bishops in their labors and fulfilling priestly duties."

We shall pass over the influence exercised by Mgr. Pecci upon the direction of the politico-religious affairs in Belgium, where the political situation was, as now, intimately connected with religious questions. Suffice it to say that during his nunciature, two questions of the highest importance, from the religious point of view, were raised; the question of the Juries of Examination, and that of the Application of the Law of 1842 to Primary Education, and with regard to these the King, seconded by Mgr. Pecci, so acted that the debates on these questions terminated to the advantage of liberty of education.

If we are surprised to see that Mgr. Pecci mingled so actively in Belgian parliamentary questions, the attitude of the diplomatic corps assigned to Brussels would amply justify it. The interests of religion, which the Nuncio has in his keeping, especially on the political field, were at stake; it was right that the Pope's envoy should endeavor to protect them when foreign powers, who had not the same reasons for interfering, did not hesitate to use pressure in an opposite direction.

Among the incidents which attracted the attention of Mgr. Pecci

during his stay in Belgium, we must not forget the schism of the German priest Ronge. Without entering into the details of the errors of the apostate, the predecessor of the Old Catholics, let us recall that after having, by a letter addressed to the Bishop of Treves, raised the standard of revolt against the Catholic Church and formed a sect in Germany, he sought to plant one also in Belgium. But the attempts of the apostate were of no avail, thanks to the action of the Nuncio, seconded by those of the bishops of Liège and Namur, whose dioceses seemed especially threatened. On his side, the Nuncio of Bavaria, Mgr. Viale-Prela, displayed no less activity in stifling the rising conflagration.

Belgium at this time served as an asylum for political and other refugees who crowded in there from every quarter. European diplomacy was rather apprehensive about this little exaggerated hospitality, concerning which the too hospitable Belgium seemed to boast. At the moment when the celebrated conspirator, Mazzini, from his residence in London, was keeping the Powers on the *qui vive,* the rumor spread one day that he had suddenly transported himself to Brussels and the Paris Nuncio asked his Belgian colleague to get what information he could from the Administration for the Belgian Public Safety. Mgr. Pecci, having given him the assurance that this report was unfounded, Mgr. Fornari answered him as follows: "I thank you heartily for what you tell me concerning Mazzini, and I am persuaded that the news of his arrival at Brussels is false, although it was communicated not only to me, but also to the ambassadors of Austria, of Sardinia and of Naples, by M. Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

If there is one point in the discipline of the Church which especially claims the attention of the Holy See, it is certainly the maintenance of observance in the religious orders. These valiant soldiers are, as it were, the advance guard of the army of Christ; more than any other parts of this spiritual army, they are under the direction of the Head of the Church Universal. It was right, therefore, that the representative of the Holy See in Belgium should occupy himself especially with what concerned the monks in this country.

In consequence of the unfortunate times which preceded the revolution of 1830, the majority of the religious orders had found themselves reduced to a really precarious condition. This state of things had decided the Holy See to put them under the direction of an Apostolic Vicar. The incumbent of this important office was the venerable Mgr. Corselis, an octogenarian prelate, justly esteemed for his eminent virtues, but whose great age deprived him of the activity requisite for the material and canonical reorganization of the orders subject to his jurisdiction. Mgr. Pecci thought that he should propose to the Holy See the

transference to the nunciature of the functions of the position in question. But before doing so, he consulted Mgr. Fornari, as his custom was. The latter, terrified by the obstacles with which the measure proposed would meet, did not seem favorable to it. The situation of the religious orders in Belgium was at this period sufficiently ill-defined and gave rise to numerous difficulties with the bishops. "I think," wrote Mgr. Fornari, "that this affair is a very delicate one. Mgr. Corselis was proposed in 1834 by the united bishops as the man best fitted to fill the position of General Visitor to the religious orders in Belgium, and he is indeed a prelate well known for his piety, his zeal and his ecclesiastical knowledge." The Paris Nuncio, however, adds what follows: "Mgr. Corselis is not completely adequate for this mission. To exercise the very extensive powers entrusted to him,—which are nothing less than those of all Generals of orders, so that in Belgium he is the Pope of the monks, the Nuncio himself having nothing to do with them,—there would be need of a man of profound wisdom, of great energy and extreme force of character. . . . but it would be a continual war, whence would spring serious disorder. . . . When the congregation of Bishops and Monks wrote me that five abbeys of Austin Friars had asked to have me as their general, and when they urged my consent, knowing the importance of the matter, the responsibility which they wished to impose upon me, and above all my insufficiency, I preferred not to answer, and so things remained as they were." We know that if Mgr. Fornari feared to see this question of the religious orders approached, so important, notwithstanding, for the welfare of the Church, and if he feared to raise conflicts as to jurisdiction with the bishops, Mgr. Pecci considered for his part the necessity which lay upon him of re-establishing the religious orders on a strictly canonical footing, the only way of making them prosper. He disregarded the counsels of an adviser whom he otherwise greatly respected, and solicited the necessary assistance from the Holy See. Having obtained it, he called together the chapters of the different orders, and visited in person several of the ancient abbeys. It is hardly necessary to say that these visits reanimated the zeal of the monks and produced happy results. These results were attained in the most peaceful manner imaginable, and there was no trace of the conflicts of authority and of the divisions which Mgr. Fornari anticipated. Thus the Nuncio of Brussels showed himself indeed to be "the man of high wisdom, of great energy and extreme force of character" whom Mgr. Fornari required to carry the matter through successfully. It was conducted with as much gentleness and forethought as energy, and no one had any complaint to make about it.

In 1845 Mgr. Pecci was appointed by Pope Gregory XVI to the Bishopric of Perugia, with the most honorable tokens of the Pontifical good-will.

This nomination forced him to abandon the diplomatic career which would have led him finally to the Cardinalate. To be sent to Perugia did not, at that time, seem to him an advancement; but Gregory XVI took care to give this transference its real character, declaring that he considered it a promotion to a nunciature of the first class, that is, as opening to the Bishop of Perugia the door of the Sacred College. Here is how Mgr. Fornari expressed himself on the subject: "I received yesterday your kind letter of the 5th, in which you tell me of your promotion to the Bishopric of Perugia. The assurance which is given you that this transference will be considered as passing to a nunciature of the first class, may indeed be called a promotion; and it is certainly honoring to you, because it is due to the eagerness of a worthy population, whose request the Holy Father has not wished to refuse, while at the same time desiring that nothing should interfere with your career."

We gather from this letter that Mgr. Pecci had been asked as Bishop by the people of Perugia as soon as the see should become vacant. There was nothing surprising about this; numerous letters preserved at Carpineto bear witness how much Umbria had regretted the Delegate she had had to give up to Belgium. It was now for Belgium to lose Mgr. Pecci, to restore him as a Bishop to the capital of Umbria, and she was not to see him depart without regret.

Mgr. Pecci had understood so well the character of the nation, he had been able to accommodate himself so well to its customs and its life, that he had gained the sympathy of all. Moreover, he had highly appreciated the qualities which distinguish the Belgians, their hospitality, their good sense, their religious spirit, their attachment to the Holy See. Hence, it was not to be wondered at that between this people and the representative of the Sovereign Pontiff there had been formed a mutual attachment. Testimonies of sympathy and regret flowed in to the nunciature. Clergy, nobility, people and government vied with one another in these manifestations. Mgr. Pecci, having announced to M. de Bonvay his approaching nomination to the Bishopric of Perugia, the Secretary of the King replied to him on the date of October 3, 1845: "I am persuaded beforehand, that while rejoicing at the promotion which awaits Your Excellence, His Majesty will view with deep regret the departure of a prelate for whom he professes a high and real esteem."

The marks of this esteem were not long in coming. In the first place, the King conferred on the Nuncio, who was going to leave Belgium, the

ribbon of his order; and he wrote with his own hand a letter intended to be delivered to Pope Gregory XVI. This letter, remarkable in every respect, gives us the judgment of a King who was one of the most profound politicians of his age, on him who was one day to become Leo XIII. Here is the text of it: "I am to commend to the watchful protection of Your Holiness, Archbishop Pecci; he deserves it from every point of view, for I have rarely seen such devotion to duty, such pure motives, such upright actions; his stay in this country will have been useful in allowing him to render good services to Your Holiness. I beg you to ask him for an exact account of the impressions which he bears away upon the affairs of the Church in Belgium. His judgment upon these matters is very sound, and Your Holiness may place all confidence in him." We have there the opinion of a Prince who, although a Protestant, had none the less very correct ideas upon the situation of the Church in Belgium, and who, besides, was a great judge of men. This letter further characterizes, better than anything we might write here, the manner in which Mgr. Pecci conducted the nunciature at Brussels; there is nothing to add to the testimony of such authority. It gives the answer in a victorious way to the insinuations which M. Frère-Orban allowed himself with regard to the Nuncio.

It is interesting to compare the letter of King Leopold I with that in which Cardinal Stercx acknowledged the receipt of Mgr. Pecci's announcement of his recall.

MECHLIN, November 10, 1845.

My Lord:

I hasten to thank you for your interesting letter which you were kind enough to write me on the 8th of this month. I congratulate Your Excellence with all my heart upon your promotion to the Bishopric of Perugia; I congratulate still more the inhabitants of this fortunate diocese who will gain in your person a Bishop as distinguished for his wisdom as for his piety, a model of all the virtues.

You are right in saying, My Lord, that during your stay you have done what you could to render some service to the Belgian Church; no one more than I has been witness of the unceasing efforts made by you to this end; I shall be eternally grateful to you for them. I regret the more that you are forced to leave us so quickly. Your excellent intentions, your ever wise views, your zeal for the prosperity of religion might have been of much further profit to us!

I hope, My Lord, that you will continue to keep the feelings of good-will for us and of which you have given us so many proofs. For our part, we shall not cease to pray for your constant happiness.

I beg you, My Lord, to accept the feelings of high esteem and sincere affection with which I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's very devoted servant,

(Signed) ENGENBERT, CARD. ARCH. MECHLIN.

Mgr. Pecci left Belgium with the approbation of the authorities, civil and religious; a success as honorable as rare in ecclesiastical diplomacy! Let us in this connection again quote the testimony of Baron d'Anethan, who was minister during the nunciature of Mgr. Pecci: "The Nuncio was remarkable for gentleness of character and for his excellent relations with the government. He was very much interested in the welfare of religion, and attained the founding of about sixty new chapels."

This appreciation was shared, we may say, by all the ministers of the King, even by those who openly belonged to the Liberal party, such as General Goblet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Having handed in his resignation a little while before the recall of Mgr. Pecci, he wrote to him in the following terms, in a letter of the 30th of July, preserved in the archives of Carpineto: "In withdrawing from power, I carry away a recollection which will always be precious to me, that of the relations which, to my constant satisfaction, have existed between us. These relations, thanks to Your Excellency, had a character of cordiality and good-will which rendered my task as easy as agreeable. I beg Your Excellency to receive here the expression of the feelings of affection which I have declared for you, and which I continue to have for you."

To understand justly the value of these testimonials of the King and of the official world with regard to the Nuncio, we must recall the circumstances under which Mgr. Pecci had been appointed. Mgr. Fornari, who was looked upon with favor by Leopold I and by the political circles, had been abruptly transferred to Paris, at the wish of the French government and without consulting the government of Belgium. Hence arose a coolness on the part of the Belgian government, which informed the Vatican that the King would not receive Mgr. Garibaldi, the prelate appointed to succeed Mgr. Fornari. Finally Mgr. Pecci was accepted. The Belgian government criticised the action of the Vatican at the time of the transfer of Mgr. Fornari: "This proceeding was the more keenly felt since it was known at the Vatican how much Mgr. Fornari was esteemed by the Belgians, and how much importance the King especially attached to his remaining at Brussels." A letter of M. Noyer to Cardinal Wiseman, dated February 14, 1843, is in open contradiction to this statement. It proves that the appointment of Mgr. Fornari to Paris was made with the consent of Leopold, who had yielded to the earnest entreaties of the King of the French. "The two kings," said M. Noyer, "really had a dispute over it. King Louis Philippe asked our King his consent to have him transferred as an act of the greatest necessity to France. The King lost in Mgr.

Fornari a personal friend." We cannot then say that the proceedings of the Vatican were keenly felt, since the King had been aware of them beforehand and had consented to the departure of Mgr. Fornari. Nevertheless, we understand that there was some discontent in official quarters after this incident. We understand, also, that the successor of Mgr. Fornari might have expected a comparatively cool reception on the part of the government and the King himself. We have seen how Mgr. Pecci triumphed over all prejudices, and how mistrust was changed to the most profound esteem. We may say that he left Brussels amid a chorus of well-merited praise.

Besides these flattering appreciations which we have quoted, it is interesting to give the impressions of Mgr. Pecci himself upon his appointment to the Bishopric of Perugia. Pope Gregory XVI, after having received the petitions of the magistrate of this town, who asked that the former Delegate be made Bishop, questioned a Perugian prelate, Mgr. Spinelli Antimori, auditor of Rota, on the subject. He is still living. He warmly supported his fellow-citizens. Having learned of this, Mgr. Pecci addressed him the following letter, recently published in the *Courrier de Bruxelles:*

My Greatly Venerated Lord and Very Esteemed Friend:

An indisposition from which I have suffered during the past month has prevented me from replying, as I would have wished, to your excellent letter dated the month of November last. I learn from this letter, and from a document enclosed, what were the desires expressed by the magistrate of Perugia, and the steps taken by you to have me appointed to the Episcopacy of your country, which is now vacant. I received at the same time the cordial expression of your joy in seeing your efforts crowned with success.

I have been touched by these kindly and affectionate proceedings, and can no longer delay to express to you my lively and profound gratitude, thanking you most heartily for your congratulations; nevertheless, very reverent sir, to tell the truth, do you think that you have rendered your country such a great service by supporting my nomination, and can you think that it will have cause to rejoice at it?

Will your hopes be realized, as you think? I am constrained, for my part, to tell you very sincerely that on considering myself well, I feel only cause for fear and confusion. What you tell me is merely the result of your good-will and your friendship for me, and, although your wish to do good to Perugia may be lively and eager, ah! how I fear that the weakness of my powers may render this wish barren and unfruitful! All my trust is in God, and this pious thought, which is my support, encourages me to ask from Heaven all the gifts which are wanting in me, and by the aid of which one may hope to obtain useful results, even from a weak and paltry instrument.

The boarding-school which they are about to erect will certainly be

the object of my first attention, and, seconded by the excellent magistrate, I have great confidence that we shall successfully complete a work which has been long wished for, which will be an ornament to the town and a great advantage to religion.

I hear that they are awaiting my arrival at Perugia with impatience. For my part I do not wish to delay; but the winter season must be considered, as well as the necessity I am under of awaiting the arrival of my successor in Belgium. If you should happen to see Mgr. di San Marzano, urge him to hasten his departure.

I beg you to represent me to the magistrate of Perugia, and to express to him my feelings of respect and lasting affection. Accept my best wishes for all prosperity in the year which is beginning and for many more of them, and accept also the expression of the feelings of profound esteem and sincere friendship with which I have the honor to call myself, very reverent sir,

Your very devoted and very humble servant and friend,

JOACHIM, ARCHBISHOP OF DIAMETTA,
Bishop of Perugia.

Brussels, 16th of January, 1846.

Accompanied by the regrets of the King, the clergy and the people, he betook himself to Perugia, called by the eager wishes of a people whom he had not long since governed, and whose voice bore him to the episcopal seat in some manner as the voice of the people of Milan bore thither the prefect of that town, St. Ambrose.

However, the hour for taking possession of his see had not yet come, and Mgr. Pecci did not wish to lose a rare opportunity for completing his diplomatic education by a journey from England into France, and by a visit to the courts of these two countries which were then directing European politics. He remained at London about a month, and was presented to Queen Victoria. At Paris, where he passed several weeks with Mgr. Fornari, he obtained an audience with King Louis Philippe, and finally set out from Paris to Italy.

When Mgr. Pecci arrived at Rome, Gregory XVI had just died. Pius IX, who had succeeded him, answered the King in the following terms: "Mgr. Pecci, the former Nuncio to Your Majesty, has placed in our hands the letter which you address to our predecessor of ever dear and regretted memory. The fine testimony which Your Majesty deigns to give Mgr. Pecci, the Bishop of Perugia, does the greatest honor to this prelate, who will in seasonable time experience, and as if he had continued in the regular course of nunciatures, the results of your kind offices."

Mgr. Pecci, moreover, was not unknown to the new Pope. He had hardly returned to Rome when he had a long conference with the Cardinal, who had arrived for the Conclave. This Cardinal was named

Mastäii Feretti, and was elected Pope under the title of Pius IX. At the first interview which the Pontiff granted the Bishop of Perugia, he in gracious terms recalled to him this conversation: "Sir, We have already met, and We have only to renew the expressions of genuine satisfaction which we expressed in Our conversation, at all that you have done in the interests of the Church in Belgium."

In closing this chapter, one of the most interesting in the life of the Holy Father, we like to repeat with slight modification the words of Leopold I with regard to Joachim Pecci: "His stay in this country will have been useful to him by reason of his having been able to render good services to the Holy Church." It was not indeed without some secret intention on the part of Providence that he who was one day, for the advantage of the Church, to direct the most important negotiations with the powers of the age, was in his youth placed in such a diplomatic school; a school in a country which presented in epitome all that was in our day to be feared or hoped for religion and for future Catholicity.

CHAPTER IV.

(1846-1877.)

Beginning of the Episcopate of Mgr. Pecci at Perugia—Reorganization of Ecclesiastical Studies—Pastoral Cares—Elevation to the Cardinalate—Pius IX Visits the Romanias and Perugia—The Massacre of Perugia—Piedmontese Invasion—Protests of Mgr. Pecci and the Bishops of Umbria—Relations of the Cardinal with the New Government—Action Unsuccessfully Brought against the Bishop of Perugia—Cardinal Pecci Appointed Camerlingo—Pastoral Teachings—General Glance at the Life of Joachim Pecci before his Pontificate—Pius IX and Leo XIII.

GR. PECCI was elected Bishop of Perugia in the Consistory of January 19, 1846. On the 26th of July of the same year he made his solemn entry into his episcopal town which he was to leave only a few months before the death of Pius IX. The successor of Gregory XVI had just mounted the Pontifical throne and the long period of his reign was to pass for the new Bishop of Perugia in the work and anxiety of the episcopate.

The Pontificate of Pius IX saw unheard-of reverses and glories. Mgr. Pecci drank largely of the cup of sorrows which afflicted the Church and its Head; he shared also in its consoling joys. In the midst of these trials and consolations, these defeats and triumphs, he unceasingly increased the rich store of his experience and of his wisdom, as well as his knowledge of the needs of the Church and of souls. Providence, who destined him to be Pope, that is to say Bishop of the Church Universal, was preparing him by the daily labors of a long and laborious episcopate to take with a firm and tried hand the crook of the Supreme Pastor of the sheep of Christ. This preparation was prolonged for thirty-two years: it was marked by incessant labors, often by cruel trials, and by the exercise of all the virtues. It occupied all the prime of life and a part of the old age of Mgr. Pecci. But was this too much preparation when we consider that it gave the Church such a Pope as Leo XIII?

The life of the Bishop may be summarized in two words. It was to be a continuous and so to speak heroic exercise of love toward God and toward souls. But it was not of the noisy type of heroism. To form a zealous and apostolic clergy, to bring up the young as Christians, to repress scandal, to make the truth manifest in a high degree, to point

out spiritual dangers of every kind, to vindicate the rights of the Church, to exalt the splendor of worship—these were the things which unceasingly absorbed the mind and heart of the Bishop, these claimed his anxious care every moment. Such was the life of Mgr. Pecci, Bishop of Perugia. And yet this period of thirty-two years, so busy, so meritorious, so useful to the Church of Perugia and indirectly to the Church Universal, would offer perhaps only a moderate interest to the reader were we to undertake a detailed account of it. It will be sufficient then to mention merely the principal facts.

Mgr. Pecci was not unknown to those whose pastor he became. So we may easily imagine the joy of this people when they saw him return in the capacity of Bishop whom they had so much loved as magistrate. The new Bishop, who, as former Nuncio, preserved his title of Archbishop, was therefore received in Perugia in the midst of general delight. Before taking possession of his see, he went to prostrate himself in the sanctuary of St. Mary of the Angels at Assisi, and it was under the auspices of Mary that he began his episcopate.

From Assisi Mgr. Pecci betook himself to the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter near Perugia, whence he set out to make his solemn entry into his episcopal town. Clad in the Pontifical ornaments, he rode a horse richly caparisoned in white, while over his head stretched the canopy carried by eight pupils of the seminary. At the head of the procession marched trumpeters followed by mace-bearers; children strewed flowers before the Bishop. The canons, the clergy, the members of the seminary, the civil authorities and the professors of the University of Perugia formed a long line which, in the midst of the public acclamations, traversed the garland and drapery-decked streets. Upon his arrival in the Cathedral, the new pastor let his flock hear his voice for the first time as shepherd and teacher, this voice which was to suffice for the whole world, *os orbi sufficiens,* but which was then reserved for the Perugians alone and was to be consecrated to them exclusively for a third of a century.

A little while after taking possession, Mgr. Pecci addressed a pastoral instruction to the clergy and people of Perugia, which shows how well the new bishop understood his duty. It calls to mind the happy memories of his delegation, and rejoices at the affection displayed by all classes of people. Then he adds: "Our joy is nevertheless not exempt from fear, for a charge, very different from that which We formerly filled, has been conferred upon Us, the episcopal charge, which would be dreaded even by the shoulders of the angels. In Our weakness We keep in sight the great solicitude which We shall have to display, the diligence with which We shall have to watch that this chosen part of the vine may

not suffer any harm, and that in the midst of the uncertainties and difficulties of the present time Our sheep may not be turned aside from the path of virtue by the example and snares of thoughtless men." The pastor puts his trust in God and calls for the zealous co-operation of the different orders of his clergy. Then addressing the members of his seminary: "We promise to pay particular attention to your education. We shall visit the seminary frequently, We shall often ask for an account of your studies and your conduct, and We shall omit nothing which shall contribute to the prosperity of this very wise and very useful institution." Mgr. Pecci executed these resolutions, so full of the real pastoral spirit, to the letter.

In the different positions which he had occupied up to this time, and especially during his Nunciature in Belgium, Mgr. Pecci had become thoroughly familiar with the position in which the Church finds itself in modern times. He had seen the nations raging and agitated by a spirit of dangerous liberty and seduced by the promises of a science which, intoxicated by its triumphs, wished, like the serpent of Eden, to persuade man that it is God, and to make him find in reason alone the moral guide for his actions. While deploring these tendencies, the Bishop of Perugia understood that the most efficacious means of opposing them was to form a clergy which by its intelligence and virtue might be equal to all the necessities of the new times, and capable of defending the immortal truths of which the Catholic Church is the repository on all grounds upon which they might be attacked. Hence we see Mgr. Pecci endeavoring to make the Seminary of Perugia a home of science and virtue. During the course of his episcopate he did not cease to work toward this lofty end, and he succeeded in endowing his diocese with a clergy remarkable for piety and regularity as well as for doctrine. In 1848 he founded the constitution and program of his seminary upon a new basis. In 1859 he established the Academy of St. Thomas, intended for clergymen who wished to sound the philosophic and theological doctrines of the Angel of the Schools.

The soul of the reorganization of philosophical studies in the diocese of Perugia was the Abbé Joseph Pecci, the brother of the Archbishop, who, in consequence of the dispersion of the Society of Jesus in 1848, had entered into the ranks of the secular clergy, and had accepted the chair of Philosophy in the Seminary of Perugia. One of the first workmen in the Thomist movement which we see triumphing to-day, the Abbé Pecci had derived his zeal for this doctrine, then somewhat forgotten even in the Roman Universities, from the teachings of Father Sordi, one of the great professors of the Roman College, who, at the period of which we speak, had taught it in all its purity. The teaching of

Father Sordi left but few traces upon the celebrated College of the Company, and pure Thomism, considered there and elsewhere as an anachronism, had to seek other refuges. Perugia was one of these fortresses where, in spite of opposition, the violence of which we can imagine, the defenders of scholastic philosophy held high and firm their philosophic convictions. It was from Perugia that Thomism was to spring forth to re-enter as master into Catholic schools, whence it had been driven by the more or less avowed disciples of Descartes, of Malebranche, or of Leibnitz, and it will not be one of the least glories of Leo XIII that he has finished, as Pope, the work begun and tenaciously pursued as Archbishop of Perugia.

The Bishop of Perugia became more and more impressed at the need of our time with regard to the education of priests and in 1872 he introduced new modifications into the program of clerical studies. By costly restorations, by new buildings and by giving up a part of his episcopal palace for the use of the seminary, he made this establishment large enough for the education of the young clergy not to be hindered by material obstacles. Such was the importance attached by Mgr. Pecci to this excellent work that it was not sufficient for him to have provided for it by the general means which we have just enumerated; his own personal action seemed to him necessary, and he thought it not derogatory to his dignity to inform himself in person as to the progress of the young students. Persuaded that if piety is, as Bossuet says, "the sum total of man," it ought to be more so that of the priest, his anxiety for the spiritual upbuilding of the young clergy knew no bounds. He insisted unceasingly that they should be inspired with a real spirit of piety and self-sacrifice. He often participated in the spiritual exercises of the community, and if he heard that some member of the seminary was lacking in docility, or was inclined to faults likely to injure his ecclesiastical education, he watched for the time to interfere, not with the severity of a judge, but with the firm and tender kindness of a father, and this Prince of the Church would take the young man aside, call his attention to his faults, and finally give him a sheet of paper upon which he had noted down with his own hand the error to be corrected and the means to be employed to overcome it. It was this same solicitude which induced Mgr. Pecci to publish for the use of his seminary pupils a charming and sound little treatise on Humility, the foundation of all the virtues.

The interest taken by the Bishop of Perugia in the progress made by the young people in their studies was no less lively. He spared nothing to maintain among them the necessary stimulus of emulation. He frequently attended the examinations of the pupils and organized lit-

The Vatican.
The Official Residence of the Pope and Seat of the Papal Government.

View of the Vatican and Gardens,
As seen from the Cupola of St. Peter's Church.

erary and scientific meetings at which he presided and to which he invited celebrated professors, scientists and bishops.

In Italy the seminaries are not generally divided into two sections. The number of pupils, which, as a result of the relatively small dioceses, is much less than in the countries on the other side of the Alps, allows the concentration in a single establishment of the complete course of literary studies, as well as the philosophical and theological. This remark is necessary to explain the incident which we are going to relate, taken from the writings of the Abbé Jeremy Brunelli, Professor of Literature at the Seminary of Perugia, who played there the part about which we are going to hear.

" One day," he says, " for some reason or another, I chanced to miss the exact hour for my class. Knowing that I might meet the Cardinal in the corridors of the seminary, I arrived at my classroom door in rather anxious haste, as you may imagine. What was my surprise, when I entered very lightly and suspecting nothing, to see the Cardinal in my chair translating to the delighted pupils a passage from Cicero's Milone, and expounding to them, with his elegant language and fine taste, the most hidden beauties of the Roman orator's language. You may imagine my amazement. Recovering myself, I took my seat in the benches with the pupils and begged the Cardinal to continue the lesson which he had begun. But he came down and courteously invited me to ascend the desk and left, recommending me to make my students advance in literary studies. I could read at the same time in his smile a gentle and tacit reproach."

This kindly incident reveals to us in the austere prelate the literary man, the man of taste, the enthusiastic lover of all that adorns the human mind. Following the example of the great Italian Humanists of past ages of whom several were model bishops; following the example of St. Charles Borromeo himself, who, notwithstanding his devouring zeal and terrifying austerity, esteemed and practiced literary pursuits, Cardinal Pecci took delight in his leisure moments in keeping up his acquaintance with the Latin classics. Hence the profound knowledge of the language of Cicero and that particularly elegant turn which we admire in everything which comes from the pen of Leo XIII. The Archbishop of Perugia was not content with reading good authors, he was an author himself, and his Latin poems now stand comparison with the most celebrated verses of the Renaissance. There is the same pure, elegant and chaste style, the same grace of imagery and cadence of verse. Needless to say the Bishop's Muse was a Christian one; his poems celebrate sacred subjects, notably the patron saints of the diocese of Perugia.

The Bishop of Perugia considered, as we have said, the education of

the clergy one of the most potent means of assuring the triumph of truth and the salvation of souls. But this did not absorb him to such an extent as to lead him to forget the prime end of the Catholic priesthood, which is to promote the glory of God and to bring the faithful entrusted to its care to the knowledge of salvation. With respect to this it may be said that the most urgent and immediate duty of the bishop is to promote the flourishing of the worship instituted by God to attract men to Him, and to unite them to Himself in the glorification of His divinity. To attain this result, Mgr. Pecci six times accomplished the visitation of his whole diocese, and was about to complete it the seventh time when he had to leave Perugia. Under his energetic impulse the fervor of the clergy and the piety of the people increased, the Word of God was distributed to the faithful more abundantly, devotion to the Virgin and to the Saints was everywhere revived.

Like the Prophet King, the Bishop is to love the House of the Lord and the sacred temple wherein His Glory abides. The hypocritical imitators of Judas may find fault with the money consecrated to giving suitable splendor to the sanctuaries of the God who has come down to us. But apostolic men deplore nothing so much as the neglect and decay in which holy places are often left. Mgr. Pecci had an ardent zeal for all that concerned the celebration of worship and the good maintenance of the churches. He had important restorations made in his own cathedral, and had it decorated with paintings. He raised near Perugia, at the Ponte della Pietra, a sanctuary dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy, where the devotion of the faithful found numerous indulgences, especially in the year 1859. Thirty-six churches were entirely built during his episcopate, and the construction of ten others decided upon when he had to betake himself to Rome, to say nothing of the restoration and enlargement of many others.

It would take too long to enumerate in detail all that the Archbishop did to arouse the piety of the faithful by means of the congregations and pious societies which he established everywhere. Let us recall, however, that in 1872 he consecrated his diocese to the Sacred Heart, reviving in this solemn act the great devotion reserved by the Lord for our times of misfortune.

The Bishop is the mediator between God and men. He offers the worship of men to God, he represents among men the love of God. If then it is his place to cause divine worship to flourish, he ought no less to strive to develop the works of charity which are desired by God for the well-being of men and which are the characteristic mark of the true disciples of the Saviour. Mgr. Pecci did not lose sight of this sublime and touching mission. His care was directed first to the suffering members

of Christ, the poor and the sick; and the Hospital of St. Mary of Mercy always received a large share of his benefits. In 1854, when his people were afflicted with a famine, he came generously to their aid. Reducing his own expenses to what was absolutely necessary, the Archbishop established in his house a free kitchen and a daily distribution of provisions. At the same time he instituted a committee of charity and reminded his parishioners that "it is in moments of public misfortune that Christian charity manifests itself especially;" then, not content with giving what is superfluous, "it limits the desires, and diminishes the expenses of our ordinary life to give aid to extraordinary necessities."

The famine of 1854 passed and with it the extraordinary sacrifices which the Archbishop had imposed upon himself; but the permanent needs of the diocese did not cease to occupy the charity of the zealous pastor. Let it be said to the honor of Belgium that it was in this country that he sought for the most devoted assistants in his well-doing. The Brothers of Mercy, as a result of arrangements between Mgr. de Merode and Mgr. Pecci, came to assume the direction of the orphanage for boys which had been entirely reorganized; and the Sisters of Providence of Champion were entrusted with the care of two institutions founded by him, one for the care of neglected young girls, the other for the penitent. Let us further mention among his works of charity the erection of the magnificent boarding school of St. Anne for young girls of families in easy circumstances, with a school annexed for the children of the people; the work of the Gardens of St. Philip of Neri, a kind of benefice for boys; the establishment for incurable women; the work for the exemption from the army of young ecclesiastics, and finally an association under the protection of St. Joachim for the support of needy priests. None of the necessities of the clergy nor of the people escaped the watchful charity of the excellent prelate.

In support of what we say concerning the activity displayed by Mgr. Pecci for the development of good works, let us quote a witness who is the more impartial since he wrote in a private letter and long before it was possible to foresee the elevation of Leo XIII to the Pontifical throne. This witness, whose extreme and sometimes rude frankness has never known flattery, was Mgr. de Merode. "I have been at Perugia," he writes to his father on the 10th of December, 1855, "to see Cardinal Pecci and the two establishments of the Brothers of Malines and of the Sisters of Namur whom he has called into his diocese to direct two houses there. This good Cardinal, despite his apparent coldness, is characterized by great zeal. He has set his seminary on the best possible footing and is restoring his beautiful cathedral. He is making an effort to revive all the ancient institutions with which this old town is filled. I found an in-

credible activity everywhere. Everywhere they are opening up large streets, they are marking out roads, they are making new gates in the city walls." We cannot share the opinion of the impetuous prelate regarding "the apparent coldness" of the Cardinal Pecci. His burning zeal took for coldness that which was in the Bishop of Perugia only prudence and gravity.

The lines which we have just quoted give Mgr. Pecci the title of Cardinal. He had indeed been raised to the purple two years before in the Consistory of the 19th of December, 1853, and this event had furnished the Perugians with the opportunity of showing the feelings which they felt for their well-beloved pastor. Public holidays, an immense gathering of all classes of society and authorities of every rank, a general illumination of the town—nothing was lacking to these touching and unanimous demonstrations.

To the days of peace and prosperity which we have just traced there were to succeed days of bloody strife and of mortal agony. For a long time the illicit secret societies had determined upon the fall of the temporal power, this bulwark of the spiritual power of the Church. To prepare the minds of men for it the leaders made Europe resound with complaints and charges against the Pontifical government, while secret societies were spreading abroad in the Pontifical States; they took the Romagnas especially as the theatre of their teachings, calculating with infernal skill that the people of these districts, naturally independent and fault-finding, separated from the metropolis by distance as well as by the chain of the Apennines, would be the easiest to detach from their lawful sovereign. Thus were spread abroad inwardly disaffection and discontent, and outwardly the fiction of oppression and misery of which the populations subject to the paternal sway of the Holy See were said to be victims.

This story rested on falsehood. However, Pius IX wished to find out for himself what the real state of affairs was and to show to the world what the real feelings of his people were. With this end in view he undertook, in May, 1857, a journey into the different provinces of his states.

This journey was one long triumph. He was thereby able to prove the love of the people for its sovereign and the generally satisfactory state of all that related to the administration and to the public prosperity.

In the course of the journey, Pius IX stopped four days at Perugia and was there received by the Cardinal Archbishop in the episcopal palace with the splendor formerly displayed by the Apostolic Delegate at the time of the visit of Gregory XVI to the capital of Umbria. During his stay the Pontiff gave the Cardinal repeated signs of the greatest goodwill.

The work of the sects in the Pontifical States had not escaped the notice of the Bishop of Perugia. He followed its progress with anxiety. Already in 1846 he had interposed between the overexcited people who had taken up arms and demanded the deliverance of those detained in the prisons, and the Pontifical troops who had determined to oppose them by force; and thanks to him the disturbance was calmed. In 1849 the Garibaldians, having become masters of Perugia after the taking of Rome by the French army, committed great excesses there, and the Austrians, under the orders of the Prince de Lichtenstein, were advancing to occupy the town. But Mgr. Pecci, fearing the effects which this foreign intervention might have produced upon the people, betook himself to the Austrian camp and persuaded the commandant to renounce his project. Perugia saw the Pontifical government established without bloodshed and enjoyed for several years the benefits of order and of peace.

The revolutionary shock to Rome and the Pontifical States in 1848 had led Pius IX to cause the ecclesiastical authorities to devise means to prevent the return of similar convulsions and some cure for the causes of a moral or religious disorder which might have provoked them. The Bishops of Umbria, in a meeting at Spoleto in 1849, concerned themselves in common, according to the wish of the Holy Father, with the religious interests of their respective dioceses, especially from the point of view which we have just indicated, and by an unanimous decision, they entrusted to Mgr. Pecci the charge of drawing up the acts of this kind of provincial council. On his return to his diocese the Bishop of Perugia occupied himself with this delicate work. The acts of the meeting of Bishops at Spoleto have had a considerable influence and would merit a complete analysis. In short, the sum total of these acts, drawn up under a government which, as far as possible, maintains Christian institutions in society, bears witness to the wise and enlightened mind of the authors. While insisting strongly on the preservation of the laws which protected religion, and while begging the Pontifical government to see to their strict execution, the Fathers of Spoleto show themselves very much concerned about the needs of the new times in the matter of the press, of education, of ecclesiastical reform and so on. We clearly see in this movement the mind of Mgr. Pecci and credit him with the important part which he played in the opportune decisions of the episcopacy of Umbria.

But the hour of darkness was soon to sound. The Italian war, begun and ended in the first months of 1859, was the signal for an attack on the temporal power. After the *Hosanna* the *Crucifixion;* after the triumphal journey through the Romagnas, the invasion of these same provinces and their shameful defection, long prepared for by the under-

hand work of the societies. The authorities, taken by surprise, did not attempt resistance, and the revolution triumphed.

Perugia experienced the rebound of these events. A troop of the factionists, supported by the revolutionists of Tuscany, took possession of the town. The government of the Pope had to resolve on a vigorous course of action to restore confidence to the good citizens and check the progress of the revolution which was deriving its strength from the weakness of authority and from the terror displayed by the men who were supposed to keep order, rather than from the support of the people. One single Swiss regiment sent from Rome was all that was necessary to retake the city by assault and to re-establish quiet there. The revolutionaries, furious at seeing their designs thwarted, graced this necessary act of repression with the name of *"Massacre of Perugia."* These were the same revolutionaries who later wished to have thousands of Neapolitans massacred by the troops of Piedmont joined to the French regiments recruited in Hungary, and to bombard Palermo, which had revolted against the Piedmontese usurpation. An Italian and Catholic biographer of Leo XIII writes with regard to the massacre of Perugia: "It is true that in this circumstance the Swiss committed many excesses and conducted themselves barbarously; if, instead of these undisciplined and intractable soldiers, they had employed French soldiers to repress the insurrection, the massacre of Perugia would not have furnished to the enemies of the Pope so many opportunities of vilifying him, for the very good reason that this massacre would not have been committed."

This way of looking at things is contradicted by two letters of the Abbé Joseph Pecci. In the one, which is dated the 20th of May, 1859, we read the following passage: "The Swiss troops, having come from Rome, entered Perugia victoriously. They met with resistance especially through treason, . . . but they showed much courage and skill. At present the town is quite calm and busy." In the second letter, dated the 27th of June, Professor Pecci advises his brother John Baptist not to believe the lies spread abroad by the newspapers. ". . . The truth is that the Swiss troops, not finding any rebels in the streets and receiving shots from the windows of houses, where the rebels were concealed, burst into these houses, but they did nothing where they did not meet with any resistance. The presence of women and children even saved the life of several rebels. The troops were certainly very much excited, but the captains were able to hold them in check and there was nothing to be deplored in the houses where the rebels did not open fire."

The check experienced at Perugia by the Revolution gained a moment's calm for the remaining Papal States. But soon Piedmont entered

on the scene, and on the 14th of September, 1860, the town of Perugia, besieged by 15,000 Piedmontese, under the orders of General Sonnaz, fell into their power. Then the usual farce of the establishment of a provisional government took place, which, under the orders of the Marquis Joachim Pepoli, commissioner of King Victor-Emmanuel, organized the annexation to the States of the *re galantuomo!*

In the midst of these sorrowful events, the conduct of Cardinal Pecci was such as suited a Prince of the Church, a pastor always ready to sacrifice himself for his sheep. On the 28th of January, 1860, he had drawn up, in the name of his clergy and of his people, an address to the Sovereign Pontiff, to protest against the odious designs conceived by the sectarians.

During the siege of Perugia by the Piedmontese, he endeavored to spare bloodshed as much as possible. The troops of King Victor-Emmanuel having taken possession of the city, the Pontifical garrison withdrew into the citadel. A truce was concluded, and negotiations were opened. The Cardinal had then to submit to the violence of a conqueror accustomed to treat bishops and the clergy as enemies, towards whom one might display so much the more insolence as they were less able to oppose force to force. Under the pretext of looking for concealed soldiers, the Piedmontese forced open the doors of the Bishop's Palace and of the Seminary and took military occupation of these two edifices, not without disordering them from top to bottom. While these things were going on, the general-in-chief, Fanti, having rejoined the main body of the army which occupied the town, decided to assault the citadel. The Cardinal resolved to try to move this soldier in order to avoid useless bloodshed. He went to him with the first magistrate of Perugia and recommended his people to the clemency of the conqueror. He received the answer that the laws of war would have their course. Nevertheless, the intervention of the Archbishop, characterized by suaveness and gentleness, could not fail to leave some impression on the invaders, and helped to facilitate the conditions of a surrender which had now become necessary. If Cardinal Pecci experienced any consolation at the success of his move, it was not long before a bitter sorrow was mingled with it.

This is how Bresciani relates the deed which was its cause:

"During the assault upon Perugia, when the Romans were energetically defending the public square and preventing the enemy from penetrating into the principal streets of the city, some factionists shot from their windows or from the tops of the houses on the members of the Pontifical party and killed a certain number of them. Now it happened by some chance or another that a Piedmontese soldier was killed by a ball shot thus from a window. After the capitulation General Rocca, furious, asked where the shot had come from. These words were heard by a

wretch recently come from the galleys who had a grudge against an honorable priest of the neighborhood, because the latter had several times rebuked him for his blasphemies. This ex-galley slave said: 'He who thus shot at the backs of your soldiers is the priest Santi, who lives there in that house; he is a rabid supporter of the Pope.' Della Rocca did not ask more. He sent some soldiers to attack the house of the priest. These took possession of him and dragged him before the general, who had him condemned to death by a tribunal improvised upon the very spot. . . . At this horrible news several persons of distinction, among others Cardinal Pecci, then Bishop of Perugia, hastened to give witness that the priest thus accused was a very pious man, of a gentle and good disposition, an entire stranger to any party spirit, busying himself only with the duties of his sacred office, and known throughout the town for his virtues. They begged the general to suspend the execution of the sentence, to make a serious enquiry; he would in this way find the culprit. . . . The General Della Rocca, obstinate in his cruelty, ordered that the execution should take place on the spot. Then Perugia was witness of an atrocious spectacle, worthy of cannibals; a band of drunken individuals and women of evil life danced around the body of the priest, hurling curses at it and crying: 'Death to Priests! Long live Italy!'"

This tragic event overwhelmed the Archbishop of Perugia with boundless sadness in which were mingled grave fears for the future. What indeed was to be expected from a government which began with such revolting scenes of iniquity and disorder?

We may without difficulty imagine what the years which followed the conquest were like for the Cardinal, and how many vexations of every kind he encountered at the hands of a hostile, annoying, persecuting government which was suspicious of the influence exercised by the Archbishop and the clergy over the people. However, the prudence of Mgr. Pecci finally gained for him the esteem and respect of the agents of the new power. Nor did he obtain this esteem, this respect, at the sacrifice of the rights of truth or of the liberty of the Church. Nine times he joined his name in the energetic protests of the Italian Bishops against the revolution and its outrages; nine times also he addressed in his own name grave remonstrances to those who were successively at the head of the government of Perugia.

When Leo XIII recommends to his brothers in the episcopate and to Catholics in general moderation in form and calmness of speech even toward the enemies of the Church, he cannot be reproached with giving advice the difficult practice of which he knows nothing about. When Bishop, the Pope had actually to treat with governors inspired with the worst spirit of sectarianism. Nevertheless the protests which he had to

address to them are always composed in the most moderate, although by no means ambiguous terms.

The Minister Minghetti having had the impudence to invite the Bishops, by means of a circular of the 26th of October, 1861, to declare themselves favorable to the Piedmontese régime, Cardinal Pecci drew up an address of fidelity to Pius IX, which all the bishops of Umbria signed with him. This document is a luminous defense of the temporal power. The bishops see in the sovereignty of the Popes a special disposition of Providence which no human power is permitted to resist, and which is intended to defend the independence of the Church, and to guarantee to its visible head fullness of liberty, necessary for the ready exercise of the supreme authority over the Catholic world which has been entrusted to him by God.

This same question of the temporal power very nearly made the Cardinal a judicial victim of the Italian Kulturkampf. Here are the circumstances: Three misguided ecclesiastics openly declared themselves against the Pope and against their Bishop, and performed an act of public adhesion to the party and principles of the pretended liberators by signing a deed drawn up by the ex-Jesuit Passaglia, in which they protested, in insulting terms, against the temporal power of the Pope. The Cardinal believed it his duty to give a severe lesson to the rebel priests, showing them that according to the testimony of their own consciences, they ought to consider themselves unworthy to celebrate mass until they had become reconciled to the Holy Church, and had made reparation for the scandal which they had caused. To this admonition the culprits replied by summoning their bishop before the civil courts as having suspended them *a divinis* for political reasons. The accusation, contrary to all the laws of the Church, lacked foundation even from the point of view of the so-called new law, for no suspension had been imposed by the Cardinal. Thus he was acquitted in the first instance and the accusation having been appealed it was again defeated. Thus ended, to Mgr. Pecci's honor, a trial which had proved his love for justice and the fulfillment of his duty as a bishop.

The direction of this affair was marked by an incident which very well shows the spirit which animated the magistracy of that time. The Judge of inquiry began by demanding the presence of the Cardinal at his tribunal. Mgr. Pecci refused to appear. Then the Judge threatened to have him dragged by force. Upon reflection, however, he refrained from going to this extreme and decided to betake himself to the Bishop's Palace. The Cardinal, thus put in a position to explain himself, reserved all the rights of the Church, declaring that "he did not mean at all by his answers to accept the jurisdiction of the lay tribunal, but that, on the

contrary, he believed himself obliged, conscientiously, to express on this subject the most formal protests as bishop and archbishop."

The fact which we have just related is only one example among thousands of the annoyances which the Bishop and clergy of Perugia had to endure after the invasion of the Piedmontese. Umbria, an especially moral and Catholic country, was treated by the invaders in the most odious fashion. They wished to impose upon it by force "the conquests of modern civilization," the liberty of the press and of morals, secularization, the expulsion of the religious orders, the ruin of the Christian family under the pretext of civil marriage, the disorganization of the clergy by protection afforded to unworthy priests, by the intervention of power in ecclesiastical appointments and by the imposition of military service. The scenes of the republican persecution in France or of the Kulturkampf in Germany can give merely a weak idea of what at that time was going on in the Papal States and above all in Umbria, where the royal commissioners, supported by Piedmontese bayonets, were reigning arbitrarily everywhere. The courage of the future Pope was being strengthened and fostered in this hard school of persecution.

In a letter to his family, Cardinal Pecci thus expresses his agonies and his sufferings: "Here we are in the midst of the fire, and God knows when it will end. To say that my health has not suffered in the vicissitudes which we have gone through would be incorrect; but the grace of the Lord has always assisted me and given me strength and courage in critical moments."

It remains for us to speak of the activity of the Archbishop of Perugia as Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. This activity would have been much more fruitful if certain influences had not endeavored to keep Cardinal Pecci as much as possible apart from the court of Rome. One of the weaknesses of the celebrated Cardinal Antonelli, whose figure, although somewhat mysterious and very much discussed, now belongs to history, was to fear to excess every influence which might have been able to counterbalance his own. The Archbishop of Perugia had to suffer from this sinister disposition of the Prime Minister. It was only after the death of the latter that Pius IX rendered full justice to Cardinal Pecci by calling him to the eminent post of Camerlingo, or Chief Chamberlain. At the same time different honorable offices were conferred on our Cardinal, among others that of Archchancellor of the Roman University.

In 1875, Pius IX had appointed him Cardinal Protector of the third order of St. Francis. No title could be more dear to a prelate so full of devotion to the Seraph of Assisi. So he displays a real joy upon taking possession of his new dignity at Assisi itself. "I have always considered," said he, "the third order founded by St. Francis as a divinely

inspired institution, rich in human wisdom and in fruits blessed for religion and for the human race. To employ oneself for the good and increase of such an order is to befriend a work of the greatest religious, moral, and civil utility; it is to bring a salutary remedy to very many of the evils which afflict society, and to make the rule of holy charity and of all the virtues flourish upon the earth."

However, the long episcopate of Cardinal Pecci was approaching an end without the zealous pastor's suspecting the great things which Providence was reserving for him to accomplish in an infinitely higher position. After his silver jubilee as a bishop, which was celebrated in 1871 in the midst of the unanimous enthusiasm of the people of Perugia, it seemed that the Bishop, far from dreaming of supporting a much heavier burden, saw the moment of comparative rest approaching. He obtained a coadjutor in the person of Mgr. Pascucci, Bishop of Ptolemaida, who died in 1874, and was replaced only in 1877 by Mgr. Laurenzi, who had been Vicar General of the diocese since 1847. The latter received the title of Bishop of Amata and was consecrated by Cardinal Pecci himself in his Cardinal title of St. Chrysogonus at Rome on the 24th of June, 1877.

We should not have a complete idea of the episcopate of Cardinal Pecci were we to pass over in silence the teachings which he gave his people in his mandates. Unhappily we cannot stop to analyze them. Let us merely indicate some matters treated by him: the simple enumeration is significant. It shows how attentive the Bishop of Perugia was to the movement of ideas and to the spiritual necessities of his time. In 1857 he put his people on their guard against the *Abuses of Magnetism;* then he recalls, in the face of the Piedmontese invasions, the true principles regarding the *Temporal Power of the Pope;* he writes an instruction upon the question of *Civil Marriage,* that instrument of so much corruption and error in the hands of the enemies of the Church; he refutes in a masterly way the *Life of Jesus* of M. Rénan, a long blasphemy, unscientific but very literary, which was perhaps the most dangerous book of our age. We next see Cardinal Pecci, concerned at the antagonism which is becoming more and more marked between the Church and the secular powers, between faith and those who lay claim to the monopoly of science and civilization, several times return to this important and sad subject; hence his instruction on *Prerogatives of the Catholic Church,* on the *Roman Pontiff,* on the *Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century,* on the *Church and Civilization,* on *Current Errors against Religion* and on the *Christian Dissension.* The two letters on the Church and Civilization attracted particular attention, even beyond the borders of Italy. The idea under these different instructions is the immense power of the Church

for the good of the people and its compatibility with all truths and all real progress. One need not, however, seek in them concessions to the false principles of the day. On the contrary, the Cardinal recommended energy in the defense of truth and of the Church. "A negative good-will, weak, shut up within itself, and desirous of impossible conciliations," he wrote in 1876, "is no longer admissible in our days, when the adversaries enter the lists to snatch away from us all that we possess and are disposed to trample under foot, not only our rights as Catholics, but the very principles of independence and liberty which they so noisily profess. It is not a question of bragging or of provocations, of that calm and civil manifestation of the Christian feeling which is a duty towards JESUS CHRIST, who will confess before His heavenly Father those who will have confessed Him before men."

It would be an interesting study to compare the pastoral instructions of Cardinal Pecci with the Encyclicals of the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII. We should find in the former the germ of all the ideas which have been so magnificently developed in the latter. This study does not enter into the plan of the present work. We shall limit ourselves to stating that this continuity of the thought of the Bishop and of the Pope has not escaped the notice of the thoughtful.

The experience gained by Cardinal Pecci during the long years of an episcopate crossed by trials of every kind was by no means ordinary, and this experience was rendered doubly valuable by an exercise of reflection. The city and the world, *urbs et orbis,* were not slow in perceiving this.

The 21st of September, 1877, sounded the hour of separation for the people of Perugia and its well-beloved pastor, a material separation only, but none the less painful. Appointed by Pius IX Camerlingo of the Holy Church, the Bishop had to leave his flock in order to reside in Rome, whence he continued to send to his diocesans his doctrinal teachings accompanied with the most tender expressions of his affection. Perugia always remained his privileged child; and later, when the supreme Pontificate gave Leo XIII a greater number of children, she did not lose in the heart of the Pope the place which she occupied in the heart of the Bishop.

The dignity of Camerlingo to which Cardinal Pecci had just been raised is one of the highest in the Sacred College. It acquires a supreme importance during the vacancy of the Pontificate, for it is upon the Camerlingo that the organization of the Conclave and the management of the affairs of the Holy See devolve. This position gave the Cardinal in some measure a foretaste of the supreme dignity which was soon to be conferred upon him, and by attracting to him the attention of his colleagues, marked him out for their votes. It was almost on the eve of his death

that the great Pius IX proceeded to this appointment; and it seems as though he had wished thus to join his voice with the voices which were soon to summon Cardinal Pecci to ascend the throne of St. Peter.

What we have already said of this already long career would suffice for the glory of one man and for the merit of one of the elect. But this was only the prelude to a new existence which was going to mark with a luminous and ineffaceable ray of light the annals of the Church and of humanity. Before undertaking the narrative of the Pontificate of Leo XIII, let us in a few words review the manifest action of Providence in the events which filled his life up to the time of his election.

As Delegate to Benevento and Perugia, Mgr. Pecci uses his great qualities for the good of his people. He there shows as much zeal for the prosperity and material progress of these provinces as for their spiritual advantage.

As Nuncio in Belgium he follows attentively the movement of the ideas which are developing there, he with great skill discerns the good and the evil in this movement; he enters into assiduous relations with the temporal power and, while preserving the rights of the Church, he seeks, as much as possible, to bring together civil authority and spiritual authority for the common good of the nation.

As Bishop of Perugia he busies himself for thirty-two years with the administration of this diocese, thus learning in its minutest details the sublime art of guiding souls, and ascertaining by daily experience the character of the functions of the Catholic hierarchy. At the same time his position as Cardinal brings him in contact with the government of the Church Universal, and allows him a bird's-eye view of the religious situation throughout the entire world. So we see the Bishop of Perugia applying in his diocese that which he will later organize on a vast scale in the whole Church. He works ceaselessly for the formation of an exemplary and learned clergy, he combats error, showing great charity for the erring; his constant concern is the glorification of the Church, the desire of making it known and loved, and of seeing the world appreciate what the Church is able to accomplish for its happiness.

The whole life of Leo XIII was then really a providential preparation for his Pontificate. This life shows us the powerful effort of a vast intelligence striving with firm will towards a definite end; the happiness of humanity through a Church loved and respected by the people, served and defended by ministers characterized by virtue worthy of Her and by knowledge fitted to bring renown to Her. And this great idea which unifies the life of Leo XIII was not pure speculation with him. He put it as far as possible into practice, in the first place in his own conduct, and then in the conduct of all those who were subject to him or who were

influenced by his zeal. No one, therefore, can accuse the Pope of being an Utopian or a dreamer, for what he proclaimed from the height of the throne of St. Peter he had during long years taught and practiced in the midst of numerous difficulties, and his ideas have passed through the crucible of experience.

Pius IX, in the presence of a state of society which, intoxicated with pride, wished to attract the Church to its own errors and to subject it to its ambitious plans, hurled the thunderbolts of his anathemas against the audacious revolt, and checked with firm hand the Catholics who were too prone to allow themselves to be seduced by the great heresy of our time.

Leo XIII, in the presence of a world which felt its foundation shaking and which was beginning to doubt itself and everything, shows it the Church and the rock of Peter as the only sure foundation for society, as the only power capable of remedying the evils which afflict modern humanity; without disclaiming the immutable condemnations called down by his predecessor, he compassionately reaches his hand to this society in distress, and endeavors to collect into one single bundle all the Catholic forces which alone are able to bring aid to it.

That is what they have affected to call a reconciliation of the Church with error, a neglect of the truth and a culpable condescension to modern society. No! it is useless for the enemies of the Church to pretend to hope for impossible reconciliation. If they wish peace, if they wish a remedy for the evils of society, they will find them by accepting the aid which the successor of Peter offers to them, but as for seeing the Pope betray truth for them, they will have to renounce this folly!

The narrative of the Pontificate of Leo XIII will show in much brighter light what we have just said and what has already been surmised from the earlier life of the Pope.

CHAPTER V.

(1878.)

Death of Pius IX—Interregnum—The Conclave—Election of Leo XIII—First Blessing of St. Peter—Impression Caused by the Election—First Audiences—Coronation of Leo XIII—Illumination of Rome—Riots.

THOSE who were in Rome at that time will never forget the impression made throughout the whole city by the sudden announcement of the death agony of Pius IX and by the solemn prayers of forty hours which then took place in all the churches.

On the 2nd of February, 1878, Pius IX had again, according to custom, received the parish priests of Rome, who had come to offer to him the blessed candles of the Feast of the Purification. He had borne this fatiguing ceremony with his accustomed energy; with strong voice he had delivered a long address, and had besides kind words for everyone. Although he had appeared somewhat exhausted, this audience had dispelled any idea of approaching danger.

But, in spite of these favorable anticipations, the great and holy Pontiff, after a short agony, gave up his soul to God on the 7th of February, 1878.

Pius IX gone, Pius IX dead!

The sorrowful news was at once announced to the whole world. Thirty-two years of glory and of trials, of incessant struggles, interspersed with successes and reverses, thirty-two years of opposition between the passionate love of Christians and passionate hatred of sectarians descended with Pius IX into the tomb. Thus the feelings of emotion were deep and universal.

Pius IX had to such an extent personified the triumphs and the trials of the Church, his majestic and serene figure had so attracted the love and admiration of the faithful that one would have said that the very foundations of the Church were to be shaken at the death of this mighty one, in whom rested the safety of Israel.

The enemies of the Church flattered themselves that Pius IX would be, if not the last of the Popes, at least the only one who, by the authority of his great name, was still able to preserve to the Church a remnant of consideration and influence in the world. Catholics, assured as they

were that they had the unfailing promise of CHRIST, nevertheless questioned the future with fear, and asked one another whether the death of Pius IX would not begin one of those eras of dejection and darkness for the Church which cause souls profound trouble.

Following the example of his predecessor, Gregory VII, Pope Pius IX might have said in dying: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in prison, detested." In truth, all the great powers, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, were hostile to him as well as to Catholicism; if any among them still preserved some respect, it would seem that it ought to be attributed rather to a kind of pity for the great age and misfortunes of the Pontiff than to any real wish to respect the Church and the Papacy. The still more formidable power of the revolution gave free course to its hatred against Pius IX, in whom it believed it saw a last obstacle opposed to its devastating encroachments among the Catholic peoples.

In a word, with Pius IX dead, it seemed, humanly speaking, that there was nothing left but to cry: *"Consummatum est!"* All is over with the power of the Papacy and the Church in the world!

But Peter does not die. If the Popes succeed one another in the long series of ages, the "rock" on which JESUS CHRIST has founded His Church remains immovable and unshaken, and God is able at the right moment to show the riches of His mercy by relighting with new splendor the torch for a moment extinguished.

One day Pius IX, while receiving in a private audience a foreign minister, accompanied by his son, addressed these words to him: "When the moment is come, I shall be glad of it. I say it with all confidence and security; for it is God who cares for my dynasty, for my inheritance, the Church. . . . . Although I shall become nothing, when this little child returns here to this same place where I am standing, he will always find in this same place another man like me clad in white." The hour had come when Providence was going to justify this "confidence" of Pius IX by entrusting his inheritance, the Church, to one of the greatest Popes who have done honor to the "dynasty" of Peter, the Vicar of Christ.

During the vacancy of the Holy See, the responsibility of the interregnum rests in large measure on the Camerlingo. Certainly it was no slight burden for the shoulders of Cardinal Pecci. The moment when Pius IX should die had long been the object of grave concern; governments had been anticipating it so that they might form combinations more and more hostile to the Church; the question was asked whether the usurper might not support the schismatic projects caressed by sectarianism, which fostered the foolish hope of electing a new Pope by popular vote.

View of the Peninsula from the Vatican.

The River Tiber and Bridge of St. Angelo.
St. Peter's Church in the Distance.

It was under these conditions that Cardinal Pecci took matters in a firm hand, and the strange and striking ceremony by which the Camerlingo confirms the death of the Pope must have appeared to him particularly solemn. We know that at the death of a Pope the Cardinal Camerlingo provided with a silver hammer approaches the bed of the deceased Pontiff, then, prostrating himself before him, he calls him three times, not by his name as Pope, but by his baptismal name, and three times he lightly strikes with his hammer the icy forehead of him who was head of the Church Universal and who has now submitted to the equality of death. The silence which follows this three-fold call is considered the declaration of death, and the Camerlingo announces it officially to his assistants.

How those three blows of the hammer must have resounded in the heart of Cardinal Pecci, announcing as they did that the Pontificate of Pius IX belonged henceforth to history! How that silence from the mouth of Pius IX must have impressed him, that mouth henceforth closed forever after having so loudly and so long proclaimed the truth before the world!

Very delicate and difficult then was the mission of the Camerlingo. The first of his duties was to protect all the rights of the Holy See, especially against the Italian government. Now it was one of the traditions of the invader to profit by the vacancy of the Holy See to extend his usurpation as far as possible; and upon the death of Cardinal de Angelis, the predecessor of Cardinal Pecci, the ministers of Victor-Emmanuel had given a hint of the intention of attributing to the government the powers which the Pontifical constitution gives to the Camerlingo regarding measures to be taken to assure the liberty of the Conclave.

In order from the first to cut short any meddling of this nature, it was decided that the mortal remains of Pius IX should not be exposed in the Sistine Chapel, but at St. Peter's. In this way the government could not find any pretext for the necessity of introducing its soldiers and its commissioners into the only place which had up till then remained the inviolable domain of the Holy See.

It was in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament that Pius IX, beautiful even in death, was exposed, clad in the Pontifical ornaments and crowned with the mitre of gold.

The bronze gratings of the chapel were closed and around the bed of state the faithful noble guards watched with naked sabre in hand, while without the grating in the immense nave of St. Peter's the Roman populace went in defile, thoughtfully and sadly, between two rows of Italian troops. Strange contrast, which well paints the false situation in which the City of the Popes finds itself.

Cardinal Pecci was soon convinced that, whether because of the

stupor caused by the unexpected death of Pius IX, or by fear of raising international difficulties, or perhaps thanks to the dignified and calm attitude of the Camerlingo of the Sacred College, the Italian government would not go to the extremities which had at first been feared. Moreover, the victories which Russia had just gained over Turkey and the anticipation of European conflicts absorbed the attention of the political world, and no one was anxious to create new complications by interfering in the Pontifical election.

It remained for Cardinal Pecci without delay to take the measures necessary for the convocation of the Conclave. These measures are complicated, and the Camerlingo was fortunately prepared for this contingency. It was above all things important that in the election the traditional rules should in no particular be departed from. In the circumstances in which the Church was situated, the slightest strife might have had incalculable consequences. Hence Cardinal Pecci had passed the last months of the life of Pius IX in studying the Pontifical constitutions and the history of Conclaves, even writing on this subject a voluminous memorial.

Three days after the death of Pius IX, the 10th of February, the work began which had to be carried out for the lodging of the Cardinals and the holding of the Conclave. We know that during the whole Conclave the Cardinals live in seclusion; all possibility of communication with the outside world is cut off from them. The doors are absolutely closed; there is left for ordinary communications only a window, provided with an opening, placed under the oversight of a commission of clergymen. Each Cardinal receives for his personal use three little cells; he establishes himself there with his secretary and one servant.

It was decided that the meetings of the Conclave should take place in the vast Sistine Chapel. On either side of the choir were raised seats surmounted with draperies, violet for the Cardinals appointed by Pius IX, green for the four Cardinals surviving from the time of their appointment by Gregory XVI. Before the seats were tables with writing materials. In the space remaining in the middle were other tables covered with violet cloth, for the secretaries and for the reception of the ballots which are as we know dropped into a chalice. There is one characteristic detail: in the back of the hall is arranged a stove, communicating by a chimney with the outside. It is there that they burn the ballots when the scrutiny has not been decisive, and the smoke which escapes from the chimney, the *Sfumata*, tells the numerous curious ones assembled on the square of St. Peter's that the election is not yet complete.

Let us now imagine the immense vault of the Sistine Chapel and the colossal fresco of the Last Judgment by Michael Angelo surmounting

the altar situated in the rear of the choir, and we shall have an idea of the place where this great historic event, the election of Leo XIII, occurred. Certainly it must have been an unique spectacle, that meeting of the Senate of the Holy Church in such a place; the majesty of the Roman Senate would have paled beside that of the Sacred College, assembled in the Sistine Chapel for the election of the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST.

The work necessary for the arrangement of the Vatican occupied five hundred men under the direction of the architects Vespignani and Martinucci, and was completed before the expiration of the ten days which followed the death of the Pontiff, the lapse of time at the end of which the Conclave properly begins, even if all the foreign Cardinals may not yet have arrived.

In conformity with this regulation, on Monday, the 18th of February, towards four o'clock of the afternoon, the Cardinals met and entered into the Conclave, passing between a double row of noble guards. The Cardinals, who in the presence of the Pope do not display the cross on their bosom, wore it ostensibly as the sign of their supreme jurisdiction. The Cardinal Camerlingo marched last, preceded by four Swiss guards.

A few moments after, the Cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel, called for the light of the Holy Spirit upon their operations, by the singing of the *Veni Creator;* then all strangers having been dismissed, the outer door was locked and the keys were delivered to Prince Chigi, the perpetual marshal of the Conclave.

M. Casoli here relates a singular incident which he said that he had from the conclavist of Cardinal Pecci, Canon Foschi, now Archbishop of Perugia. At the moment of entering the Conclave, the Cardinal received a letter bearing the stamp of Naples in which a certain advocate, Pecorari, wrote that he had often had presentiments with regard to family events which always came true, and that at this moment an inner warning of this kind made him foresee the election of the Bishop of Perugia. He asked for the benediction of the future Pope in case that his presentiment should come true.

The following are the numbers of the Cardinals present at the Conclave, arranged according to nationality: Forty Italians, seven belonging to Germany or Austria, seven French, four Spanish, two English, one Portuguese.

Cardinal Brossais Saint-Marc, Archbishop of Rennes, and Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, were unable to leave their dioceses by reason of infirmity. Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, arrived in Rome only after the election.

Each day of the Conclave begins with the Mass of the Holy Spirit which is sung at ten o'clock, and is followed by the first scrutiny. If this does not terminate the election, a second scrutiny takes place in the afternoon about four o'clock. Two-thirds of the votes are required to render the election valid.

One of the first acts of the assembled Cardinals was to renew all the protests of Pius IX against the occupation of the States of the Church, and against the laws and decrees hostile to religion and the Holy See. This protest, dated the 19th of February, was addressed under the signature of the three Cardinals first in rank to all the accredited diplomatic corps represented at the Holy See.

The Romans say that the first scrutiny is for the sake of politeness and is never decisive. It is certain that there is generally in it a great diversity of votes, which is quite natural. Nevertheless at the scrutiny of Tuesday, the 19th, Cardinal Pecci received twenty-three votes, the most favored of the other candidates receiving only seven. From the beginning of the Conclave, the election of Leo XIII might be foreseen.

It will perhaps not be useless to say that none of the Catholic powers, whatever the newspapers may have said, made use of the veto which was formerly recognized in fact, although null from a legal point of view. Perhaps they understood that this intervention would have ill become governments who have nothing Catholic about them but the name.

At the second scrutiny of the same day, Cardinal Pecci had thirty-eight votes, and, on the next day, Wednesday, the 20th of February, in the morning, forty-four votes, out of sixty-one, declared for his elevation to the Pontifical throne. The Conclave had ended its mission: more than two-thirds of the voices had been gained by Leo XIII.

What were the impressions of Cardinal Pecci upon seeing first so many votes given for his name, this number increasing on the second scrutiny, and finally rising from the third to the required majority. Evidently the finger of God was showing itself in an election whose rapidity was going to disconcert the calculations of the enemies of the Church. This action of the Holy Spirit, evident to all, was not so to the humility of Cardinal Pecci. He endeavored from the beginning to produce reasons which were, according to him, against his election, notably his weak health, which, he said, would render a new Conclave necessary at no distant date. After the second scrutiny his anxiety increased, and going to one of his venerable colleagues whose influence in the Sacred College he knew, he said to him: "I cannot restrain myself, I must speak to the Sacred College. I fear that they are going to commit an error. They think me learned, wise, and I am not; they suppose that I have the qualities necessary to be Pope and I have not; that is what I should like

to say to the Cardinals." He received the following reply: "It is not for you to judge of your knowledge, but for us. As for your qualities to be Pope, God knows them; leave it to Him." This conversation was reported by Cardinal Bonnechose. Cardinal Donnet, who was seated at the Conclave beside Cardinal Pecci, affirms that the latter, on hearing his name come out of the urn more and more frequently, began to weep great tears, while his trembling hand let fall the pen which it held. Cardinal Donnet picked it up and returned it to him, saying: "Courage! it does not rest with you here. It is a question of the Church and of the future of the world." For reply the future Pope raised his eyes to heaven as if to implore the divine assistance. Lastly, Cardinal Dechamps declares that upon hearing the result of the election, Cardinal Pecci became extremely pale; and that on the morrow, Leo XIII drew tears from his eyes when telling him in the most humble terms the insufficiency of human weakness in the presence of the heavy weight of the Pontificate.

Whatever were the feelings of the newly elected one, chosen by the Lord to rule His people, it was impossible for him not to submit to the voice of Him who, through the instrumentality of the princes of the Roman Church, called him to the immense honor and to the heavy burden of the tiara. Scarcely had the result of the election been proclaimed than the canopies surmounting the different Cardinals' thrones were lowered, except that of Cardinal Pecci, and the three Cardinals first in rank, approaching the newly elected, asked him the formal question: *"Acceptasne electionem tuam in summum Pontificem?* Do you accept your election as Sovereign Pontiff?" The Camerlingo, with moved but clear voice, replied that he felt himself unworthy of such elevation, but that in the presence of the accord of the Sacred College, he submitted to the will of the Lord. The Cardinal Dean then asked him: *"Quomodo vis vocari?* How do you wish to be called?" The new Pope declared that he chose the name of Leo XIII.

The memory of Pope Leo XII, for whom Joachim Pecci always expressed a lively admiration, was not without influence upon the choice of this name of Leo which, already glorious in the annals of the Apostolic See, was to shine there again with more brilliant splendor.

The eve before the Conclave they had, according to custom, deposited in the Sacristy of the Sistine Chapel the Pontifical robes in three different sizes, in order that whoever might be the Pope elected, he might immediately clothe himself with the insignia of his supreme dignity.

Leo XIII then went to assume the Pontifical robes, slipped on his finger the Fisherman's ring, and, seated at the altar upon the *sedia gestatoria,* received the homage of the Cardinals, who, an hour before

his equals, came now to prostrate themselves at his feet with humility to receive his blessing and to revere in him the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Touching and sublime sight wherein the supernatural spirit which directs the Church and makes Peter live anew in all his successors!

But the happy event was not to remain longer shut up in the bosom of the private chamber which had been its author and witness. The privilege of announcing the election of the Pope belongs to the first Cardinal Deacon. In spite of his great age and infirmities, Cardinal Caterini did not wish to relinquish this honor and joy to anyone else. He therefore went to the *loggia* or open gallery which looks upon the square of the Vatican from above the portico of St. Peter's, and from thence he proclaimed to the city and the world the great news by means of the usual formula: "*Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum. Habemus Papam Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum Joachim Pecci qui sibi nomen imposuit Leonis XIII.* I announce great joy to you. We have for Pope the most Eminent and Reverend Lord Joachim Pecci, who has taken for himself the name of Leo XIII." At the same time in accordance with the prescribed rite they let fly a leaf of paper from the *loggia* bearing these same words. The leaf fell whirling around towards the public square, where hundreds of hands were raised to seize it.

At the same moment the enormous bells of St. Peter's began to ring, and filling the air with their majestic pealing, awakened in all hearts a great desire to know who was the new Pontiff. In a moment all Rome was alive. From every quarter of the city streams of people in carriages and afoot began to flow toward the square of St. Peter's. Joy was visible on all faces: they repeated the names of Pecci and of Leo XIII, and a common feeling of gladness seemed to have taken possession not only of the faithful, but of the indifferent besides, and even of those who fostered sentiments hostile to the Church.

Soon the immense square of St. Peter's was covered with an innumerable crowd eager to receive the first benediction of the Holy Father. As we know, it was from the *loggia* of St. Peter's that the Popes were accustomed to give the benediction *urbi et orbi,* before the taking of Rome by the Piedmontese. What was the Pope going to do on this day of his election under circumstances which had not occurred before? That was what the crowd was asking itself. Would he give the benediction within the Church, or would he appear on the gallery of the portico? The question was not unimportant; if the latter supposition was realized, there would have been people who would have seen in it a symptom of a reconciliation of Leo XIII with the new order of things. The better advised, and they were in the majority, betook themselves within the Cathedral. The writer of these lines was

there, and the sight granted to him at that time will never leave his memory.

Above the principal door of St. Peter's, half way, it would seem, between heaven and earth, a huge space exists surrounded with sober decorations and opening out upon a magnificent balcony. It was in this admirable frame that Leo XIII was about to appear; it was from thence that he was going to give the world his first Papal Benediction; it was toward this kind of gate of heaven that all eyes were fixed.

Suddenly a surging movement is seen in the throng. A Master of Ceremonies, bearing the Pontifical cross, advances into the space. A rich red drapery is thrown upon the balustrade: the Pope is coming.

The balcony remains empty for a moment. Here is the Pope at last! He is there in his white garments, alone, high above the multitude, with figure erect, and with face noble and pale, more like a messenger of Heaven than a human being. Behind him indistinctly appear Cardinals and Bishops standing in groups in the adjoining room.

At the sight of the Pope the crowd allows its enthusiasm to burst forth, but Leo XIII, with a wave of the hand, endeavors to secure silence, and soon they hear his clear, strong voice pronounce the verse: *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*

The whole assembly is kneeling and the words of the benediction descend from the lips of the Pontiff upon a forest of bowed heads. The voice of the Pope has scarcely ceased to resound when the crowd, incapable of restraining its emotion longer, rises like one man. Enthusiastic shouts ascend and reverberate under the vaulted roof of the Cathedral. The scene is indescribable. All eyes are fixed on Leo XIII, all hands are stretched out toward him; they wave handkerchiefs, they weep, a thrill of joy and love runs throughout this whole united multitude which, with shouts of joy, proclaims Leo XIII as its Pastor, its Father and its King.

In the meanwhile the new Pontiff has withdrawn in the midst of the outburst of feeling which we have just described. The Cathedral slowly became empty and the throng of people scattering in every direction bore home to each fireside the inspiring tale of this memorable scene.

While Rome was being impressed with these great events the telegraph communicated it to the whole world. The happy news of this election was favorably received by the nations and their governments. It might almost have been said that the enemies of the Church themselves ceased for a moment from their customary spirit of detraction to recognize the virtues of the new Pope, his moral qualities and his knowledge of the needs of the time. But apart from the official diplomatic congratulations there was no indication on the part of those who held

the reins of public power of any demonstration significant of good-will towards the Church and its Head, no intention of efficaciously recognizing the authority and dignity of the Vicar of CHRIST. The Spanish Senate alone "being inspired,"—as it solemnly declared,—"by the religious feelings which animated it," presented its respectful congratulations to Leo XIII.

We need not say that the Church Universal, having come out providentially soon from the mourning of widowhood, showed its joy. In all the Roman Churches, in all the dioceses they sang the *Te Deum;* and the bishops on making the name of Leo XIII known to their people, confided to them the hopes to which the qualities and virtues of the worthy successor of Pius IX gave rise.

The new Pope had fixed Sunday, the 3rd of March, for the ceremony of his solemn coronation. In the meantime he did not deem it well to withdraw himself from the pious zeal of the faithful who wished to offer him the tokens of their veneration. In spite of the fatigue and emotions of the preceding days, in spite of the anxieties and cares which from the first came to assail him, he devoted numerous hours to audiences. On the 23rd of February, receiving the representatives of the French Catholic universities, he delivered his first public address. After having deplored the misfortunes and divisions which were weakening the eldest Daughter of the Church, he rendered praise to the good work accomplished by the French Catholics despite this sad state of things, and expressed the hope that numerous pages might still be added to the book of the *Gesta Dei per Francos.* Then manifesting at that time what was to be the great care of his Pontificate, he spoke in high terms of the good which will be done in France by the Universities through a union of profound science with pure doctrine, and by producing a race of Christians capable of defending and doing honor to their faith. He cited to his hearers the example of the Belgian Catholics and their success in the foundation of the University of Louvain.

The audience granted to a numerous deputation of ecclesiastics and of the laity from Perugia assumed a more intimate and touching character. How can we depict their emotion when they saw the figure of their former beloved pastor surrounded by all the splendor of the Pontificate, and when they were able to be convinced that the greatness of his dignity had not changed the feelings of Leo XIII towards his Umbrian children. Let us observe with regard to this that Leo XIII wished for two years longer to keep the government of the diocese in his own hands, his former coadjutor, Mgr. Laurenzi, having merely the title of Apostolic Administrator,

The Transfiguration, by Raphael,
In the Vatican.

The Madonna and Child, by Raphael,
In the Vatican.

The first Benediction of St. Peter and the numerous audiences were not sufficient for a people desirous of seeing its Pontiff. Leo XIII thought of gratifying them without abandoning the reserve which his attitude towards the government established at Rome required. He therefore decided that on the day of his coronation, after the celebration of the Pontifical office in the Sistine Chapel, he would march in procession in the vast hall which is surmounted by the portico of St. Peter's, there to be crowned in the presence of the throng assembled in the Cathedral. In this way he would not depart from the rules followed by his predecessor, who, after the taking of Rome, had never wished to come out of the Vatican, and he would at the same time give the people the satisfaction of being present at such an important act as his coronation.

Preparations for the solemnity were being actively carried on when, on the 1st of March, three days before the ceremony, an order from the Holy Father suspended the work. At the same time the Cardinals received notice that the coronation would take place in the Sistine Chapel and in the interior of the Vatican.

What was the cause of this sudden change? It was useless to pretend to believe, and to have it circulated in the newspapers, that the new Pope was going to reconcile the Church with a united and free Italy. Providence arranged things in such a way that the iniquity should give the lie to itself, and that on the day of Leo XIII's coronation, there might be manifestly revealed to all eyes by the action of the Italian authorities the fundamental incompatibility which exists between the liberty of the Papacy and the occupation of Rome by Italy. The government, in short, committed the enormous political mistake of informing the Vatican that it would not be responsible for the preservation of order, if the ceremony of the coronation should take place in St. Peter's, which was a confession either of its weakness or of its ill-will.

It was within the Vatican then that the ceremony took place. The traditional rites were observed in all their striking grandeur, in the presence of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See and of a great number of the faithful, both Romans and foreigners.

An altar and a throne had been raised upon a vast platform at the end of the Ducal Hall. About half-past nine in the morning, the Pontifical procession came out of a neighboring hall serving as a sacristy to march to the altar.

First come the Masters of Ceremonies, followed by the Pontifical Cross surrounded with six lighted candles; the Tiara comes next glittering with gold and jewels; then the august and venerable College of Cardinals, wearing the simple white mitre and clad in the dalmatic, in

the chasuble, or the silver cope embroidered with gold, according as they belong to the order of deacons, priests or bishops; each Cardinal is accompanied by his train-bearer who wears a violet soutane. Behind them come in line about sixty mitred bishops and abbés, among whom we distinguish by their rich ornaments some Orientals. When this long procession has finally passed by, the Holy Father appears surrounded by his court, prelates, princes assisting at the Pontifical throne, dignitaries of various orders of knighthood, all of whom are escorted by the Swiss Guard and by the Guard of Nobles.

After a short prayer at the foot of the altar, Leo XIII mounts upon his throne, and while the choir of the Sistine Chapel chants solemnly, first the Cardinals, then the Bishops come, two by two, to kneel at the foot of the throne and to kiss the Pontifical ring.

Following this ceremony, the Holy Father intones, with a loud and resonant voice, the chant of tierce which he closes with the Prayer of St. Peter. Assisted by two Cardinals and numerous Bishops, he next puts on the Pontifical ornaments and, wearing the mitre, he goes toward the entrance of the Choir where the *sedia gestatoria* awaits him. The procession, which is again formed, resumes its march. From the height of the *sedia* which six attendants, clad in red, bear upon their shoulders, while the immense *flabelli* rise like peacocks' tails on each side, Leo XIII towers above and blesses the people. Then he again mounts his portable throne, above which rises this time a canopy. While the Pontiff advances in all the splendor of his glory above the prostrated crowds, two Masters of Ceremonies draw near to him. The one holds a kind of wand ending in a trident, the other a lighted candle. Upon their appearance the bearers halt. Then a tuft of tow is fixed upon the trident, they light it in the flame of the candle, and the Master of Ceremonies, raising the blazing tuft before the eyes of the Pope, cries to him in a loud voice: *"Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria mundi:* Holy Father, thus passes the glory of the world." Twice more is this significant Christian ceremony repeated. It takes place for the last time when the Pope enters the Sistine Chapel, where are assembled the diplomatic corps, the Roman nobility of high degree and a crowd of distinguished personages.

After the Mass had been celebrated by the Pope with the pomp of Pontifical ritual there came the ceremony of the coronation properly so called.

The first of the Cardinal Deacons placed on the Pontiff's head the Tiara, the sign of supreme dignity, pronouncing these solemn words: "Receive the triple-crowned Tiara and do not forget that you are the Father of princes and kings, the Head of the world and the Vicar of our

Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honor forever and ever." The Pope turned towards those present and, after having by three successive prayers invoked the aid of Heaven, he pronounced the triple Apostolic Benediction upon the kneeling assembly.

The ceremony was ended; Leo XIII remounted the *sedia gestatoria,* crossed once more the Sistine Chapel and the Ducal Hall and disappeared from the eyes of the assembled faithful.

Having laid aside the Pontifical ornaments, he then received the homage of the Sacred College which, by the mouth of Cardinal di Pietro, gave expression to its feelings of affection and obedience for the new Pontiff. Leo XIII responded in words bearing the stamp of humility and confidence in God; he said how much the august rite which had just been completed had made him feel the greatness of the See which he occupied, and applied the words of David: "Who am I, Lord God, that Thou hast brought me to this honor?"

In the evening of this great day, an illumination which was as general as spontaneous, proclaimed in most striking fashion that the City of Rome remained, in spite of all, attached to its Pontiff and its Father. The hostile press had to admit it, and one of the worst confirmed it in these terms in which hatred is mingled with disappointment: "The illumination of the houses belonging to the Clerical party exceeded all expectation. The Clerical party has shown itself indisputably more numerous than was thought."

Such a demonstration necessarily brought rage to the hearts of those who claimed to be the liberators of Rome. They showed it in a way worthy of them. A troop of vagabonds, led and paid by ringleaders, went, provided with stones and other missiles, to the places where the illumination was most brilliant, notably to the Corso before the Theodoli Palace. These valorous friends of light, as they loved to call themselves, doubtless wished to show themselves as such by breaking the window-panes and by extinguishing the fires kindled in honor of the Pope. They did so in the midst of a chorus of cries and curses while the police, with arms crossed, smiled at the rioters. When they had accomplished, or had practically done their work of destruction, a company of infantry arrived and dispersed them in a twinkling, an evident proof of the ill-will of the government, which might just as easily have checked these seditious displays at the beginning.

It had been decreed that the day of the coronation of Leo XIII should reveal to the eyes of the entire world the hypocrisy of this legal Italy, whose diplomatic representatives at the foreign courts were indulging in protestations of respect for the liberty of the Holy See, and

at the same time feigning to hope for a reconciliation with the new Pontiff!

However, what vexation the politicians of the Revolution may have felt in the presence of the manifestations of the real Roman people, hatred did not blind all the enemies of the Holy See to such an extent that they should overlook the merits of the newly elected Pope. It is interesting, in view of the violence of sectarianism and of the contemptible conduct of the Italian government, to consider the judgments passed upon Leo XIII by the statesmen and public men of the Liberal party of Italy, both before and after his election to the supreme Pontificate. From them we gather that the figure of Leo XIII, his intellectual personality and his moral force, made an impression on the adversaries of the Holy See themselves. Friends and enemies, faithful and unbelieving, then had their eyes fixed upon the new Pope, and expected from him something great, especial, and personal. The Catholics were full of submission and confidence, persuaded that the invisible Head of the Church unceasingly aids His Vicar in steering the bark of Peter. As for the unbelieving and hostile several imagined, with more ignorance than malice, that they would soon see the new Pontiff reconcile irreconcilable things and realize the impossible alliance of light and darkness, of Christ and Belial. Were not these absurd hopes awakened in like manner at the beginning of the reign of Pius IX, and did they not see the name of this great Pope serve for some time as the rallying cry for the Italian and Cosmopolitan Revolution? Doubtless the heads of the sects are not the dupes of hopes of this kind; no more than from Pius IX did they expect a monstrous reconciliation; the knowledge of the new Pope and his firmness made them fear, on the contrary, new defeats, and led them to hate in him a formidable adversary. Nevertheless they promoted these fallacious expectations for the purpose of seducing the simple, of attracting to themselves Catholics who were too much in favor of reconciliation, and of weaning away from Leo XIII those whose character inclines to struggle and combat. Some partial successes, it must be admitted, crowned these insidious tactics. Yet the beginning of the Pontificate of Leo XIII was such that all well-disposed men must have been enlightened, and if some Catholics in different directions felt the more or less direct influence of sectarian tactics, it is none the less true that the impulse given by the Pontiff was followed by an ever greater fidelity by the true children of the Church. This will appear in the course of this biography.

CHAPTER VI.

(1878.)

Re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland—Cardinal Franchi, Secretary of State—The First Consistory—Three Letters of Leo XIII—First Encyclical (Inscrutabili)—Leo XIII, Italy and Rome—Spanish Pilgrimage.

THE tiara had hardly been placed upon the head of Leo XIII when the innumerable cares of the Pontificate began for him.

On the 4th of March, fifteen days after his election, he re-established by a bull the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland. This measure had been prepared under the reign of Pius IX and was only waiting his execution. Leo XIII was happy to associate his name with that of his illustrious predecessor in thus completing the great work of the reconstitution of the Church in the United Kingdom. In the bull the Pope spoke in eulogistic terms of the liberty allowed the true religion in England and expressed the hope of seeing the Church of Scotland recover its former splendor, thanks to the re-establishment of the episcopal sees.

Leo XIII had to consider the appointment of his Secretary of State. On the 5th of March he called to this high post Cardinal Franchi, who, after having discharged various functions, notably that of the Nunciature in Spain, had for several years been overseer of the Propaganda.

On the 28th of March, Leo XIII held a first Consistory, with all the formalities and pomp which Pius IX had seen fit to abandon in the last years of his Pontificate. Clad in the red cope and golden mitre, as the ceremonial of the Consistory following the coronation demands, the Pope addressed a discourse to the College of Cardinals in which he praised the late Pontiff and the works carried on by him in the interests of truth and justice. He spoke of the eminence of his virtues, and he showed that the great Pope seemed to have been, even more than any of his predecessors, the object of manifestations of love and respect. This was as remarkable as the length of his Pontificate. Yielding at the same time to sentiments of the most touching humility, the new Pontiff declared himself thoroughly convinced of his unworthiness in the presence of such an heritage, and full of uneasiness at the sight of the sad situation in which society found itself. The Church was as

badly off. The Apostolic See, robbed, by violence, of its civil principality, was deprived of the free and independent use of the power which properly belongs to it. Finally Leo XIII expressed the belief that the assistance of the Sacred College would support him in the difficulties of his mission. So we see that from the time of his first consistorial speech, Leo XIII decidedly rejected a compromise with the enemies of religion.

The address of the 28th of March revealed a Pope unshakably attached to principle. And yet this firmness did not exclude the utmost gentleness when a breach of duty was not involved.

The last years of Pius IX had been saddened by the violent persecutions inflicted upon Catholicism in Germany, in Switzerland and in Russia. Germany had seen the rise and development, even to frenzy, of the struggle under the name of the "Combat for Civilization," *Kulturkampf*, which was directed against the Catholic Church, the Mother and Protectress of the best civilization. A similar persecution was raging in Switzerland with all the brutality of "village tyrants." As for Russia, its everlasting hatred against Catholicism had just been manifested in the most outrageous fashion in the refusal to receive the complaints which Pius IX had forwarded to the government through the diplomatic channel against the persecution of Catholics. A circular of Cardinal Simeoni, Secretary of State of Pius IX, had denounced this proceeding to the world and declared that the Holy See found itself under the necessity of breaking off all relations with the officious diplomatic agent of Russia at Rome. This circular was dated the 20th of October, 1877.

Blessed with a profound knowledge of men and affairs, the new Pope had understood that the change of the Pontificate was a unique opportunity to try a great effort for making peace and that it was necessary to profit by the expectant curiosity awakened by this change in the whole world. That was why, after having announced his elevation to the Pontifical throne to the Emperor of Germany, Leo XIII asked him to restore liberty of conscience to his Catholic subjects, promising him to preserve their loyalty and submission to his authority. At the same time the Emperor of Russia received an identical letter from the Pope, while a pressing appeal was addressed to the President of the Helvetian confederation on behalf of the Catholics of that country. These three letters bear the date of the 20th of February, the very day of the election of Leo XIII. They are as it were the prologue to the negotiations afterwards conducted by the Holy See which obtained consoling results. What is important for us to notice here is the magnanimity of Leo XIII displayed towards the hostile powers, and the skill in taking

advantage of the favorable impression, caused by his election, on the secular powers and in still further heightening this impression. In this proceeding the Pope was far from sacrificing the cause of oppressed Catholics; on the contrary he took the most efficacious way of defending it and of showing his love for his persecuted children. He proved this love well on the 8th of April, when praising in magnificent terms to a pilgrimage from Poland the faithfulness of this unfortunate nation to the Church.

Whatever the interest aroused by the Pontifical acts of which we have just spoken, the world expected a still more important one. What would be the first encyclical of Leo XIII? That was the question which the enemies of the Church put to themselves, giving beforehand an answer conforming to the tactics which they had chosen. Leo XIII was the opposite of Pius IX; his first encyclical was therefore to contain a new program; it was going to open the era of conciliation and to mark a change in the principles of the government of the Church. In the midst of universal expectation the Encyclical *Inscrutabili* appeared, on the very day when the Church was celebrating the Resurrection of the Saviour.

It began with a masterly painting of the state of society at the moment when Leo XIII had been called to occupy the chair of St. Peter. "At the beginning of our Pontificate," said the Pope, "there is offered to us the sad sight of the evils with which the human race is everywhere overwhelmed; this extensive denial of supreme truths upon which, as upon its foundations, rests the whole of human society, this revolt of minds incapable of enduring any lawful authority, these ever renewing causes of discord whence spring internal struggles and bloody and cruel wars; the contempt of laws which guide morals and defend justice; an insatiable desire for perishable things and a forgetfulness of eternal things pushed even to such a mad fury as to lead so many wretched ones to take their own lives; thoughtless administration, the dissipation and embezzlement of the public property; the impudence of those who, doing all they can to deceive, endeavor to pass themselves off as the defenders of the country, of liberty and of all rights; lastly, this kind of mortal pest which attacks the organs of human society internally, leaves it no rest and threatens it with new revolutions and with the most disastrous events." Could one with surer touch or with firmer hand put one's finger on the sore spots of society? Nothing is wanting to this terrifying picture; neither the disorder of minds, nor that of the temporal administration, nor private corruption, nor the public seductions of a pretended Liberalism; neither the evils of souls nor those of the body. Hence the first solemn word of the Pope was to say to the world, as the

Son of Man had said to the angel of Laodicea: *"Thou sayest that thou art rich and in abundance and that thou standest in need of naught; and thou knowest not that thou art wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked."*

But it is not sufficient for the physician to recognize the malady; he must also investigate the causes and indicate the remedy. That is what Leo XIII does in the remainder of his Encyclical. What is the great cause of the evils of modern society? It is contempt of the authority of the Church. Take away this authority and at the same time you shake the foundations of society. The enemies of public order have understood this and hence they have furiously let themselves loose against the Church. Leo XIII enumerates the results of this satanic fury: the laws contrary to the rights of the Church, contempt of episcopal authority, the obstacles opposed to the ecclesiastical ministry, the destruction of the religious orders, the withdrawal of charitable institutions from the influence of the Church: "Hence also that unbridled liberty of teaching and impressing what is bad, while otherwise the right of the Church in the instruction and education of the young is violated in every way"; hence the destruction of the temporal power necessary to the Holy See for the free exercise of its sway.

The Pope, in unfolding these sad pictures, does not wish to cause discouragement, but to spur on the zeal of the ministers of the sanctuary to struggle against so many evils. Considering, then, what the Church is able to do for the good of humanity, he calls to mind that it is to her that the world owes the raising of people formerly plunged in the darkness of superstition, the abolition of slavery, the protection of arts and sciences, the foundation of charitable institutions. "So much so," he continues, "that if many of the blessings of which we have spoken and which have their origin in the ministration and salutary assistance of the Church, are the work and ornament of civilized humanity, the Church does not only not abhor nor reprove this civilization, but it considers it to be its boast that it has been the nurse, the mistress and the mother of this civilization."

After having given the historic proof of the services rendered by the Church to human society, Leo XIII dwells upon the confirmation given to this proof by the state of the people who, not having received the light of the Gospel, have possessed merely the appearance and empty name of civilization. "The bold contempt of all lawful authority," he cries, "is not the perfection of civilized life, and We must not call liberty that which busies itself shamefully and miserably with the propagation of error, with the free gratification of the passions, with the oppression of the best citizens of every kind. These things being erroneous, wicked

Church of St. Peter, Rome.
The Largest and Most Imposing of Christian Churches.

Interior of the Church of St. Peter, Rome.

and absurd, they cannot result in the perfection of the human family and its prosperity, for sin makes the people unhappy, and it is necessary that, minds and spirits being corrupted, the state of things which results therefrom will shake all order and hurl people into ruin."

Leo XIII then enters upon a description of the blessings which the supreme heads of the Church, the Roman Pontiffs, have spread throughout the world, at the price of immense labors, and in spite of the threats as well as the insidious flattery of the powers of the time. He calls to mind the part of peacemaker played by the Papacy among the different nations, and shows that it was the centre whence came unity of faith, bonds of concord, the place where all went to seek counsel and direction in order to make peace reign and to regulate their enterprises. But they have lost the respect for Papal authority, and revolutions, wars, and calamities have been let loose upon the world.

The unworthy calumny which represents the Apostolic See as an obstacle to the civilization of the nations in general and especially to the happiness of Italy, leads Leo XIII, naturally, to speak of this question of the temporal power, with regard to which the Liberal Italians feign to hope for an abdication from him. He declares proudly that he will never cease to demand the re-establishment of the Holy See to the condition into which divine wisdom had placed it, and which was necessary to its liberty, no less than to the general good of all human society. He renews all the protests of Pius IX against the violators of the rights of the Roman Church; he adjures all the heads and princes of the nations not to refuse him the so necessary aid which Religion offers them and to hasten eagerly around the Holy See in their endeavor to alleviate the sorrows of the Church and of its visible head.

In this first part of the Encyclical *Inscrutabili,* Leo XIII states the evils from which human society suffers and seeks for the cause of these evils. The second part is devoted to pointing out the principal remedies for them.

The Pontiff first dwells at length upon what concerns the errors of the day, recommending the faithful to reject "even the most widespread opinions as soon as they perceive that they are contrary to the doctrine of the Church," and quoting the words of St. Paul: "*See that no one deceive you with the seductiveness of vain philosophy, according to the traditions of men and according to false reasonings concerning the elements of the world, and not according to Christ,*" he renews the censures of his predecessors against these errors, recommending the bishops at the same time to watch over the preservation and the propagation of the true doctrines, especially in the proper education of the young. "The more the enemies of religion endeavor to teach ignorant men and es-

pecially young persons what is fitted to obscure their intelligence and to corrupt their morals, the more We must endeavor to spread abroad, in a suitable and sound manner, teaching conforming in all points to the Catholic faith in literature and science, but particularly in philosophy, upon which depends in large measure the good direction of the other sciences."

Then turning his attention to the family, where education in some measure receives its foundations, the Pope repeatedly recalls to mind the fact that the divine laws which regulate this domestic society can alone give it its stability and its efficacy by means of the graces which marriage, raised to the dignity of a sacrament, confers upon the parents and upon the children for the accomplishment of their duties and of their temporal and eternal happiness. Here are the energetic terms in which Leo XIII speaks of the anti-Christian laws which have reduced this great sacrament to the rank of a civil contract: "The result is that the dignity of Christian marriage being violated, the citizens become addicted to a legal concubinage instead of marriage, married people neglect their mutual duties of fidelity, children refuse obedience to their parents, the ties of domestic love are relaxed and—deplorable example and ruin of public morality!—pernicious and fatal separations often take the place of an ardent love." The Pontiff then invites the bishops without ceasing to recall the faithful to the observance of the laws of the Church on marriage, and describes the happy results which flow therefrom to the family as well as to individuals; and, in order to maintain the happy results produced by the education of the family and by Christian teaching, he commends in a word the pious societies of all kinds which are the glory of our time.

The Encyclical closes with an expression of the joy caused to the Pontiff by the harmony of the bishops among themselves and with the Holy See, as well as by the tokens of respect which have come to him from all quarters of the world, "thus furnishing the proof," expressly adds the Pope, "that the love and devotion with which the faithful have surrounded our very worthy predecessor remain entire, and that they are not becoming cool towards the person of an heir who is so far from equaling him." Finally the Holy Father recommends all to pray for the needs of the Church, invoking the aid of Mary Immaculate, of St. Joseph and of the Apostles, Peter and Paul.

We have thought fit to give this detailed analysis of the Encyclical *Inscrutabili* because of its extreme importance; in it Leo XIII touches the different questions which he will develop in his later Encyclicals. In this respect it may be considered as a programme of government, if it is fitting here to apply the terms of parliamentary language. We will

remark with what clearness the Pope specifies the points upon which the age is at variance with the Church, and with what calm force he charges the bishops, the clergy, and the faithful to follow in a way which is not that which the misguided thought, nor which the deceivers feigned to hope. Leo XIII is not less inflexible than Pius IX. It will always be so. Every time Satan offers to Peter the kingdoms of the world which it has at its disposal, Peter will answer with JESUS CHRIST: *"It is written: Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve!"*

Providence having placed the seat of St. Peter at Rome, the centre of Catholicism, it is Rome which first receives the beneficent influence of this unfailing source of faith and charity. Italy also benefits in a particular fashion by this happy influence. Rome, which Italy holds in her bosom, is for her the pledge of this special action of the Pontificate. Leo XIII could not fail, following the example of his predecessors, to pay particular attention to the religious needs of the peninsula. To provide for one of these most urgent necessities, the intelligent choice of pastors, he appointed a commission of four Cardinals, charged with gathering information concerning the ecclesiastics whom their knowledge and virtue seemed to mark out for the Episcopate. This Pontifical act is dated the 14th of May, 1878.

In the meanwhile the Pope was concerning himself in a still more particular way with the sad condition of the Eternal City.

A new cause of bitterness had just touched his heart in the most sensitive place. The municipality of Rome had on the 26th of June decreed that the catechism should no longer be taught in the common schools except to the children whose parents should make an express demand for it, an act which was practically equivalent to an absolute proscription. Leo XIII could not keep silent. In a touching letter addressed to Cardinal Monaco la Valetta, his Vicar-General, he describes in energetic terms the causes for sorrow which the state of Rome affords: the unbridled license of the press, the establishment of Protestant churches and schools, finally the proscription of the catechism, this last rampart of the faith of children. He then shows the good effects of the teaching of the Christian doctrine and declares that "the judgment of Solomon cannot on any account be re-enacted upon the children and they be cut in two by an unreasonable and cruel separation between their intelligence and their will: while cultivating the first, the second ought at the same time to be directed towards the acquisition of virtues and of the latter end." Otherwise to make use of them is to make of instruction a dangerous weapon in the hands of the wicked. Leo XIII then shows how foolish that morality is which is called civil or natural, and how powerless it is to keep the child in the right way. Then, dealing more closely

with the question in hand, he declares that the inferior position in which religious instruction has been put by subordinating it to an express demand on the part of the parents, can do nothing but inspire the child with a disgust and contempt for an instruction which he sees scorned and scarcely tolerated by his masters. For fear, then, of seeing the Roman people lose its faith and its traditional piety, the clergy and the laity ought to redouble their zeal in spreading abroad the Christian doctrine, in founding Catholic schools and in bringing it about that parents shall demand the teaching of the catechism in the common schools. Such is the substance of this letter so full of light and of useful advice.

One of the principal concerns of the Bishop of Perugia had been education in all its stages, and especially ecclesiastical education. The anxiety of Leo XIII for this important interest of the Christian people was no less. In spite of the numerous obstacles opposed by the Italian laws to the liberty of education, the Catholic schools, thanks to the efforts of Leo XIII, have an attendance at least equal to that of the common schools, and their superiority in all respects is every moment being recognized by the Liberals themselves.

As for ecclesiastical education, the Sovereign Pontiff lost no opportunity of insisting in the presence of the different institutions, religious or secular, upon the necessity of a strong literary, philosophical and theological education, indicating St. Thomas as the surest guide which they could follow in the rational and sacred sciences.

During the first year of the Pontificate of Leo XIII, the pilgrims flowed into Rome. Fifteen hundred came from Spain under the guidance of several bishops. Leo XIII, who received them on the 19th of October, was profoundly touched by their tokens of veneration and addressed to them a discourse upon the text: *"Blessed be God who comforts us in the midst of all our afflictions."*

CHAPTER VII.

(1878-1879.)

Retrospective Glance at the KULTURKAMPF in Prussia—Exchange of Letters between Leo XIII and William I—Fall of the Falk Ministry and End of the Acute Period of the KULTURKAMPF.

ONE of the most glorious deeds of Leo XIII will have been the restoration of religious peace to Germany. It can scarcely be imagined how much patience, gentleness, perseverance, and skill were needed to arrive at the desired result without compromising any essential principle. Justly to appreciate the work accomplished by Leo XIII and his diplomacy, it is necessary to consider in some detail the Draconian legislation under which the German Church groaned at the time of the death of Pius IX. We shall see that the Prussian State had put all the force of its officials, and all the subtleties of its lawmakers at the service of the persecution which thus became one of the principal institutions of the State. Let us now cast a glance at the *Kulturkampf*.

As usual the Jesuits had been the first victims of the persecution. On the 19th of June, 1872, a law gave satisfaction to Civilized Germany by banishing the Society of JESUS and every one of its members from the Empire. The institution and the so-called affiliated congregations were excluded from the territory of the Empire. Their foreign members were to be expelled. Their German members were to be confined within a certain definite part of Germany. Their stay in any other part of the country was to be forbidden.

On the 11th and 12th of May, 1873, two laws were promulgated, of which we can enumerate merely the principal clauses. They are sufficient, however, to give a complete idea of the state of things which was being created by the new legislation.

By virtue of the law of the 11th of May, every aspirant to the priesthood in the Kingdom of Prussia was obliged to follow the course given by a German University in accordance with a programme established by the State. Theological students could not, during their stay at the University, attend any ecclesiastical seminary. All establishments intended for the education of the clergy were placed under the oversight of the State. All appointments to parishes were subject to a preliminary

notification addressed to the superior president of the province, who had the right to oppose the installation of the candidate, if the former record of this man were of a nature to cause fear that in the exercise of his functions he might act contrary to the laws of the State or trouble the public order.

The law of the 12th of May decreed that the disciplinary power over the ecclesiastics and the employes of the Church could be exercised only by a German ecclesiastical authority. This article was perfectly in accord with the dream of a German Catholic Church, a dream to which the rise of the sect of the Old Catholics, sprung from opposition to the dogma of the infallibility, had given a weak beginning of reality. Another article of the same law gave the government the right of deposing the ministers of the Church whose acts might seem to it incompatible with the maintenance of public order. Lastly, this law decreed the creation of a special tribunal; a royal jury for ecclesiastical affairs to which was given the right to depose the bishops and the priests "who may have violated the laws of the State sufficiently seriously for a continuation of their functions to seem a menace to public order."

The debates, as a result of which this iniquitous legislation became law, will remain the most memorable page in the parliamentary annals of Prussia. But these learned legislators were ignorant of the spirit which animates the Catholic Church. The bishops and priests accepted the penalties, the imprisonments, the exile; the faithful remained firm. Their fervor redoubled in the face of persecution. Many Catholics, who until then had been indifferent, became active. Also those who among the adversaries were not blinded by hatred were already asking themselves where the *Kulturkampf* would end, and confessed that a Church which did not succumb under such persecution must be founded and upheld by God.

As long as they had hoped to gain their end, Bismarck, Falk, and their majority had pretended to see in the *non possumus* of the invincible Pius IX, in his protests, merely so many unjustifiable aggressions. They had made of the heroic defender of religion a warlike Pope; of his Church, an obstacle to the national development of the new Empire. But they already saw the moment coming when they would have to represent the Pope and his Church under other colors, if they did not wish to run the risk of taxing the patience of the Catholic population, and of throwing it, deprived of its spiritual guides, into the arms of socialism. The letter of Leo XIII to the Emperor of Germany of which we have spoken above arrived at a very opportune moment. "As to our great regret," wrote Leo XIII, "the happy relations which formerly existed between the Holy See and Your Majesty have been broken, We address

ourselves to Your magnanimity with a view to obtaining the restoration of peace and repose of conscience to a great number of your subjects; and the Catholic subjects of Your Majesty will not fail to show themselves, as the faith which they profess orders them, most conscientiously devoted, respectful and faithful to Your Majesty. Fully convinced of the sentiments of justice of Your Majesty, We call upon the Lord that He may grant You the plenitude of His celestial gifts, and We beg Him to unite Your Majesty and Us in the bonds of the most perfect Christian love."

The answer of William I showed how different were the points of view which the Pope and the Emperor took in their common desire for peace. "The cordial words of Your Holiness," added William I, "make me hope that You will be disposed to put in operation the powerful influence which the constitution of Your Church gives You over its ministers, in order that those among these who lately refused to follow the example of the population entrusted to their care may submit to the laws of the country in which they dwell."

This letter was countersigned by the Chancellor Bismarck, in his capacity as Prime Minister of Prussia. In it, it was clearly insinuated that the Catholic population had submitted to the laws of May, and that the bishops and their clergy alone were the rebels. It is amazing that Bismarck, who knew better than anyone how matters stood, should have told the story which he was dictating to his sovereign, to be transmitted to the Pope. Had the King then no knowledge of the frequent complaints which his Catholic subjects had addressed to him after being outraged in their most sacred rights and deprived of their pastors? We know from a trustworthy source that things would have taken another course if the Emperor had been better informed. We may believe, then, that the monarch was sincere in interpreting the loyalty of his subjects as a submissive acceptance of the laws of May.

The Holy Father replied to the Emperor in a letter dated the 17th of April in which the Apostolic firmness was allied to the most serene moderation, and in which Leo XIII clearly established the basis upon which an agreement might be made.

Shortly after this, two horrible events occurred which threw Germany into a state of consternation and caused the most lively emotion throughout the civilized world. These were the two attempts made upon the life of the Emperor, on the 11th of May and on the 2nd of June.

After these two attempts the Sovereign Pontiff wrote to William to express his sorrow. The Prince Imperial, regent during the illness of his father, answered the Pope to thank him.

The Prince wrote that the Emperor had delayed the reply to the let-

ter which His Holiness had addressed him on the 17th of April, in the hope that confidential explanations might in the meantime have prevented him from in various ways setting forth contradictory principles, a thing which would have been inevitable if the correspondence had continued in the strain of the letter of His Holiness. Then the Prince expressed regret that His Holiness was unable to realize the hope expressed by His Majesty. As for the desire of His Holiness to see the laws of May modified in a direction conforming to the principles of the Catholic Church, "no King of Prussia," wrote the Prince, "will be able to accede to that; for the independence of the monarchy would be weakened if the free movement of its legislation was subordinated to a power residing outside." The future was to give a solemn contradiction to these proud protestations!

Here is the end of the letter countersigned by Bismarck:

"If it is not in my power, nor perhaps in that of Your Holiness, to quiet the struggle of principles which has been manifest for the last thousand years in the history of Germany, more than in that of any other country, I am ready, nevertheless, to treat the difficulties arising out of this conflict, transmitted to us by our ancestors, in the spirit of peace and conciliation with which the Christian faith inspires me. . . . Convinced that I shall find in Your Holiness the same disposition, I shall never renounce the hope that where an agreement on principles is impossible the sentiments of conciliation which animate both parties may open for Prussia the way of peace which was never closed to the other States."

The words of the monarch had shown that he felt that the loss of religion would bring forth loss of the respect for authority, and it is certainly thanks to his direct influence that there came about a certain relaxation in the oversight exercised upon the clergy by the functionaries and the subaltern agents.

The elections for the new Reichstag, which took place on the 3rd of July, 1878, had brought the number of votes at the disposal of the Centre from 95 to 103, and that after six years of *Kulturkampf* and in spite of the unheard-of efforts of the governmental parties to represent the Centre as the only obstacle to peace. They went so far as to say that Cardinal Franchi had pronounced against the attitude of the Centre. But in the Reichstag, in the session of the 11th of December, during the discussion of a motion of the deputy Bachem, demanding the suspension of the execution of the law against the religious orders, the illustrious chief of the Centre, Windthorst, found occasion for making the following declaration: "If an understanding could be arranged between the Curia and the Government, we should greet it with a *Te Deum*. We would submit, unreservedly, to this arrangement, even if we thought that for

the love of peace too many concessions had been made to the State." These words of the Catholic leader clearly established his attitude.

A great change was soon to occur in the political and parliamentary situation in Prussia, which was destined to render the position of the Centre less disadvantageous and at the same time facilitate the action of Pontifical diplomacy. After the attempts on the life of the Emperor, Doctor Falk, feeling the ground giving way beneath his feet, had endeavored to resign. This was not permitted; a radical change in the political economy of Prince Bismarck and the disorganization of the national Liberal party, which followed shortly, hastened the downfall of the Falk ministry. The adversary of Catholicism had fallen, apparently upon the economic question, but all admitted, even among the Liberals, that the real cause of the fall of the ministry had been the religious question. A declaration of the Chancellor of the Empire to the German Reichstag came to confirm this opinion. "It is the mark of a worthy man," said Bismarck, "to fight when the circumstances demand it; but strife ought not to be made a permanent institution, and when means are presented of moderating disagreements without attacking the principles of the cause itself, when we have learned to know one another and to esteem one another mutually in a common work towards a common end, I, as Minister, have not the right to despise these means of pacification."

How different are these words from the feelings manifested at the beginning of the struggle! They were an indication of the work which was operating in the minds of those who directed German politics as a result of the negotiations with Rome. But this work was merely preparatory, and we shall see how difficult the position of the Holy See towards Germany remained.

CHAPTER VIII.

(1879.)

Encyclical Quod Apostolici against Socialism—Jubilee—Conversion of the Chiefs of the Armenian Neo-Schism—Audience for Journalists.

THE year 1879 opened with the impression caused by the Encyclical *Quod Apostolici* of the 28th of December, 1878, which was made singularly appropriate by the attempts on their lives from which the Emperor of Germany and the Kings of Spain and Italy had just escaped, as well as by the ever more threatening agitation of the anarchist sects.

This Encyclical is directed against socialism, which attacks "all that has been wisely decreed by human and divine laws for the protection and ornament of life." While preaching the perfect equality of men, the favorers of this doctrine refuse obedience to the powers which the Apostle says are derived from God. By suppression of the rights of property, "they wish to snatch away and render common all that has been gained by legitimate inheritance, by the work of the mind and the hand, or by saving." They tend also to dishonor marriage, of which they weaken or destroy the bond. From the spreading of these ideas in a crowd of writings result hatred towards authority and repeated attempts against life. The first beginning of these evils was the war made against religion in the sixteenth century in the name of rationalism which, by exalting human pride, has given the rein to all the passions. "Hence," continues Leo XIII, "by a new impiety, unheard of even among the pagans themselves, they have established governments without regard to God and to the order established by Him;" they have sought the basis for laws, not in God, "but in the multitude of the people who, believing itself free of all divine sanction, has wished to submit merely to the laws which it might please to make for itself." Denial of the truth of faith, banishment of Christ from the schools and from human life entirely, forgetfulness of eternal recompense and punishment, ardent desire of happiness reduced to the limits of time—these are the fruits of rationalism, and they necessarily produced, among the poor and working people, the desire of getting possession of the blessings of riches. "It is not astonishing," concludes the Pope, "that there is no longer any rest in the world,

whether in public life, or in private life, and that the world has in consequence almost arrived at its total ruin."

The Pontiff next calls to mind what the Popes have done to condemn secret societies and this "unbridled liberty which has been attributed to men, this new right which has been invented and established against natural and divine law." Unfortunately Kings have not ceased to hold the Church in suspicion, and to disregard the extent to which its doctrines and its precepts protect public peace and "destroy radically the bad seed of socialism." In short, to the socialistic equality, which refuses obedience to superiors, the Church opposes Christian equality, equality of nature and aim, which does not exclude the inequality of rights and of power. By its precepts, it moderates the rights and duties of princes in such a way that obedience is rendered noble and easy and that arbitrary power is restrained. The Church unceasingly recommends obedience to the authorities and the providential necessity of social distinctions, at the same time threatening unjust princes with the terrible judgment of God, without, however, admitting the right of the people to revolt against them.

The influence of the Church is not less happy in domestic society, which is the basis of all civil society, a basis which socialism destroys or almost destroys. The marriage tie, the sacrament symbolizing the union of Christ with the Church, teaches husbands and wives the constancy of a reciprocal love and the subordination of the wife to the husband. Moreover, the Church directs the paternal power and the power of the master in such a way that children and servants are kept within their duty without being pushed to extremities by a too harsh authority. Similar precepts, observed by everyone, ought to make the family an image of heaven and cause their good results to be reflected even in civil society.

As to what concerns the right of property, the Church, contrary to socialism, recognizes inequality in possessions, which is natural in men differing among themselves in forces of mind and body; it ordains respect for the right of property and excludes robbers from the kingdom of heaven in the same way as it excludes idolaters and adulterers. But at the same time, far from rejecting the poor, it holds them in great honor and gives strict injunctions to the rich to aid them, while consoling the unfortunate with the example and teaching of Christ. "Who does not see," concludes Leo XIII, "that it is the best means of appeasing the ancient conflict which exists between the poor and the rich? Reason and the evidence of facts show that if this means is rejected or neglected the result must necessarily be, either that the great part of the human race will fall into the deplorable condition of slavery, which was long the peculiar feature of slavery, or human society will be agitated by continual

movements and saddened by these plunderings and crimes, the sight of which has afflicted Us even in these latter days."

The Encyclical ends with a warm exhortation to Princes to induce them to accept the aid which the Church offers, and to the bishops that they should more and more inculcate the salutary doctrines, that they should dissuade the faithful from connecting themselves with the condemned sects, and that they should found Catholic societies for workingmen.

The important document which we have just summarized received a considerable amount of attention throughout the entire world, especially in governmental circles. It clearly showed how suited the doctrines of the Church are to give the solution to the great problem which agitates our time.

If Leo XIII did not neglect any human means of working for the good of the Church, he was profoundly persuaded that God alone could give the efficacy to these means, and that prayer and good works are more potent than all the efforts of human activity. In order in some manner to take Heaven by storm by supplication and the unanimous penance of the Christian people, the Pope promulgated a universal jubilee. "We are not ignorant," he said, in his apostolic letter of the 15th of February, 1879, "how much the abundance of the heavenly gifts is necessary to Our weakness in the arduous duties which We support; We know, by long experience, how sorrowful is the condition of the times in which We live, and in the midst of what billows of affliction the Church finds itself tossed in Our time, while public affairs, which become unceasingly worse, the plots of the impious and the threats even of celestial anger, which has already fallen heavily upon some, make Us fear greater evils from day to day." But the prayers and good works which the entire Church will perform during the jubilee ought to call into being "a firm confidence that the Holy Father will regard the humility of His people and will turn the course of things into a better channel."

Heaven, indeed, seemed without delay to give a pledge to the Pontiff of its sympathy by granting him one of the greatest joys that the heart of the Father can experience in the conversion of Mgr. Kiupelian, the head of the Armenian neo-schism and the almost entire cessation of this schism. We shall not here undertake the narrative of this deplorable division, brought about in a council of the Vatican by the act of two Armenian Catholic Bishops: Mgr. Bahtiarian, Archbishop of Diarbekir, and Mgr. Gasparian, Bishop of Cyprus, of which Mgr. Hassoun, the sole legitimate patriarch of the Armenians, was the glorious victim. Suffice it to say that the monk Kiupelian, having arrogated to himself the title of civil head of the Armenians, and then that of Patriarch of Cilicia,

was, at the time of which we speak, the head of the schism. The dissensions and embarrassments which he found in his own flock put him on the way to Damascus, and through the intercession of Mgr. Hassoun he made his submission to the Pope, after having addressed to the Sublime Porte the renunciation of his usurped titles, and having tried, but vainly, to bring back with him to the fold all the wandering sheep of which he had been the misleading pastor.

The Holy Father consented to receive him, and, on the 20th of April, the touching ceremony of the reconciliation took place. The convert approached the throne of the Pope, around which were ranged several Cardinals, and in a loud voice read to him a humble retraction of all his errors. Leo XIII, like the father of the prodigal son, gave the repentant monk the most tender welcome. "It is sweet and consoling for a father," said he, "to embrace anew and to press to his bosom a son whom he believed lost. . . . This is the joy and the consolation which Our heart experiences upon seeing you, dear son, after having long awaited you, re-enter into the bosom of the Catholic Church and banish the germ of a division which would be very fatal to the Catholics of Armenia." Then praising the courage which the convert had displayed in leaving all to make reparation for his fault and thus to acquire immortal glory before God and before men, he added: "In granting you the most entire and ample pardon, We intend of Our own free will to make an exception to the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline, and to grant you the titles, marks and honors of the episcopal dignity which had been conferred upon you by some prelates who were deserters from the Catholic unity." The speech of Leo XIII ended with these words: "Oh! How dear to Us are Our churches in the East! How We admire their ancient glory! How happy We should be to see them again shine forth in their first greatness!"

Since his rise to the Pontificate, Leo XIII had several times pointed out the dangers of the ill-disposed press. The necessity of opposing an energetic resistance to it by the organization of a Catholic press, which should be in a position to fight against it successfully, was one of the chief cares of the Pontiff. He soon had the opportunity of explaining his views upon this subject in the audience which he granted on the 2nd of February, 1879, to about a thousand journalists, representing more than thirteen hundred and two periodical publications, in which about fifteen thousand Catholic writers were collaborating. The opinions which he addressed to them ought to be thought over by all public men. After having compared them to "a chosen band of disciplined warriors, armed for battle, and ready to make an attack, upon the order and signal of their general, into the midst of the enemies, there to sacrifice their lives," he

calls to mind the unbridled license with which a shameless press spreads full handed corruption and impiety among the people. This teaching has had such success "that We should not be far wrong in attributing in large measure the sad condition of things and of the times to the newspapers." Hence for Catholics the necessity of having recourse to the press in order to remedy these evils. If they are forbidden to make use of the means employed by their adversaries, they may equal and surpass them in elegance of style, in readiness of information, in the setting forth of useful things, and "especially in the truth, which the soul naturally desires, and whose strength, excellence and beauty are such that, in appearing to the mind, it readily attracts the assent of even those who would like to refuse it." The language used must be grave and moderate and such as will not offend the reader by an unseasonable harshness, and which will, moreover, not put itself at the disposal of any taken determination or of particular interests at the expense of the common good. Leo XIII recommends harmony between the Catholic writers; he regrets that "among them are found those who wish according to their pleasure to decide public controversies of great importance relative to the condition of the Apostolic See itself, and who appear to have sentiments different from those demanded by the dignity and liberty of the Roman Pontiff." With regard to this he calls to mind that Providence has established the temporal power of the Pope as a safeguard of this liberty and this dignity, and he urges Catholic writers not to cease to defend the necessity of this civil principalship, which is of no danger to the good of people in general and of Italy in particular; for the Church does not excite revolutions, it opposes them; it does not foment hatreds, it extinguishes them; it does not develop tyranny, it restrains it by the fear of the judgment of God; it does not encroach upon the rights of civil society, it consolidates them. The Pope says to the Italians that "the public affairs of Italy cannot be prosperous nor enjoy a lasting prosperity, if they do not provide, as all justice demands, for the dignity and liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff." This discourse, besides giving practical advice of the highest importance, once more established the attitude which the Holy Father intended to keep towards the existing order of things in Italy.

CHAPTER IX.

(1879.)

The Encyclical Æterni Patris—St. Thomas Declared Protector of the Catholic Schools—The Roman Academy of St. Thomas—New Edition of the Works of the Angelic Doctor.

ONE of the grandest designs of Leo XIII has undoubtedly been the restoration of the Christian philosophy.

In the eighteenth century religion was attacked under the name of philosophy, and the word philosopher was a title with which those who claimed to kill faith in the name of reason loved to deck themselves. It cannot be denied that the discredit into which philosophy had fallen in the heterodox camp had passed to a certain extent into the Catholic camp.

Scanning the field in which the struggle between faith and unfaith was waged, Leo XIII had investigated the causes of weakness among the Catholics and resolved to apply a remedy by reviving the study of scholastic philosophy and its methods. This is the purpose of the Encyclical *Æterni Patris,* of the 4th of August, 1879, which assured the triumph of the philosophical system of St. Thomas.

The Holy Father first calls to mind that the cause of the evil of society is to be found in the perversion of the intelligence by the erroneous principles of a false philosophy, a perversion which had necessarily to extend to the will and actions of men. Doubtless a good philosophy would not by itself be sufficient to triumph over error; faith and the grace of God are necessary for that. But faith does not destroy reason; on the contrary, it perfects it, and the latter, developed by a proper system of philosophy, becomes the auxiliary of faith. The first utility of philosophy is to prepare the way for faith, for there are truths of faith to which philosophy can attain by itself; it is thus that it proves the existence of God and His infinite perfection, and hence succeeds in proving that we must believe the truths which it pleases God to reveal. Reason thus shows that the Church by reason of its holiness, its fruitfulness, its diffusion is itself a proof of its divine mission. Philosophy serves, then, to make of theology a real science, by uniting in one single body its different parts, and by con-

firming them by irrefutable arguments; then, by developing the knowledge of the intimate nature of subjects of faith, and, up to a certain point, of its mysteries; finally in repulsing the attacks of unbelief. These attacks arise in general from philosophy, and it is in great part by philosophy that they must be refuted. But that the latter may respond to the necessities which we have just enumerated, it ought to follow the way which the Fathers have traced out for it and which the council of the Vatican has confirmed by its authority. Reason ought to receive from faith the mysteries which pass beyond its power to explain and not to interpret them arbitrarily. It ought to take pride in being the servant of celestial doctrines. "Catholic philosophy would violate alike the rights of faith and those of reason, if it embraced a conclusion contrary to revealed doctrine," for a truth cannot be opposed to a truth. By thus subjecting itself to divine authority, the reason, far from degrading itself, keeps itself, on the contrary, from many errors and uncertainties, and enriches itself with sublime truths. The history of philosophy shows us, in short, how many errors the pagans had commingled with the truths which they knew, while the Christian apologists have made use of the truth which the pagan philosophers have declared in order to brilliantly defend the Catholic truth.

Leo XIII then names the works of the first apologists to St. Augustin, upon whom he pronounces a great eulogy, and to St. Anselm. Next he touches upon the scholastic doctors, "who undertook to collect the harvests of doctrine spread abroad in the immense volumes of the Holy Fathers, and to collect them as if into one single place for the use and convenience of following generations."

The first among these doctors is St. Thomas Aquinas, who has arranged these doctrines in admirable order. "There is no part of philosophy which he has not treated with as much intelligence as soundness. . . . Making a careful distinction between reason and faith, and uniting both in friendly fashion, he has preserved the rights of each in such a way that reason, raised by St. Thomas to the highest degree, cannot in any way rise higher; and that faith cannot expect from reason more numerous nor greater assistances than those which she has received through St. Thomas." From this came the ardor with which the scholars of old studied St. Thomas; from this the obligation imposed on the majority of the religious orders to follow his doctrine; from this the reverence of the universities of former times for this same doctrine; from this, especially, the innumerable praises given by the Popes to the wisdom of St. Thomas, and the account made of it by the ecumenical councils, notably that of Trent, the Fathers of which wished that the Compendium of St.

The Confession and Statue of Pius VI,
In the Vatican.

Statue of Charlemagne,
In the Vestibule of St. Peter's.

Thomas should be placed upon the altar beside the Scriptures and the Pontifical Decrees; from this came, finally, the praise and admiration which the doctrine of St. Thomas drew even from the adversaries of Catholicism.

For all these reasons Leo XIII deplores the fact that the scholastic philosophy has not always and everywhere kept the honor which was its due, so much more so as the new philosophy has not produced the fruits which the Church and civil society would have desired. Liberty, introduced by the innovators of the sixteenth century, and taking the form of philosophizing without regard to faith, brought an exaggerated multiplicity of the most contradictory opinions and systems upon the fundamental points of our knowledge. Nevertheless Leo XIII is far from blaming those who put their erudition at the service of philosophy and who seek to develop it by means of new discoveries.

The Pope next praises those who have devoted themselves to the restoration of philosophy according to St. Thomas. He expresses the lively wish of seeing the whole episcopate follow this way, and open to studious youth the purest sources of the teachings of the Angelic Doctor. The reasons upon which he bases this wish are, in the first place, the necessity of procuring for the young, and above all for the young clergy, a strong philosophic instruction, in a time when faith is attacked in all ways in the name of a deceitful philosophy. In the second place nothing is better suited to destroy the subversive principles of the so-called new law than the teaching of St. Thomas upon the real nature of liberty, which to-day is degenerating into license, on the origin of authority, the manner of exercising it, the duties of princes and subjects, reciprocal charity and so on. Lastly, all the other sciences will benefit by the projected restoration of philosophy which is their guide. The arts themselves will profit by it, for history proves that they have followed the vicissitudes of philosophy and have become impregnated, according to the time, with its principles, whether true or false.

As for the physical sciences which are so highly esteemed in our days and which by their magnificent discoveries excite so great admiration, not only have they nothing to fear, but they have everything to expect from the restoration of the ancient philosophy. It is not sufficient to consider the facts. After having investigated them it remains to find their laws, their principles, their co-ordination; and it is for this that scholastic philosophy will be highly useful.

It is, moreover, quite wrong to accuse traditional philosophy with being opposed to the progress of the natural sciences. For according to the doctors of the School and according to the Fathers the human mind

rises only by the knowledge of things perceptible to that of things spiritual. Hence many of the thoughts of the Blessed Albert the Great, of St. Thomas, and of other great doctors concerning the natural sciences are recognized as true by the masters of contemporary science. Several confess indeed that "between certain conclusions of modern physics and the philosophical principles of the School there exists no real opposition."

However, "if the scholastic doctors have sometimes shown too much subtlety in certain questions, if they teach things which are not in accord with certain doctrines of later times, finally, if they support improbable opinions upon any subject whatever, the Pontiff has no intention of offering these things for the imitation of our time." Leo XIII then enjoins the Bishops to have the teachings of St. Thomas taught by picked intelligent masters, and to found academies for the same purpose. He warns them that it is fitting to seek for the teachings of the Angel of the School in his own works or in the authorized interpreters, keeping on the watch against those who pretend to raise up St. Thomas, but have not really his teachings.

As we see, the Encyclical *Æterni Patris* touches the most vital points in the intellectual education of human societies. It shows the immense importance of this education and its sovereign action upon the social state. In lively fashion it calls the attention of all those having authority in the matter to one of the greatest necessities of our age, and one of the most lost sight of, the necessity of a sound philosophical groundwork, the effects of which would be of incalculable benefit to the individual and to society.

Leo XIII did not confine himself to letting his voice be heard; he preached by example as well as by precept. One year after the publication of the Encyclical *Æterni Patris,* he proclaimed St. Thomas patron of all the Catholic universities, academies, colleges and schools. This declaration had been petitioned for by a large number of bishops and scholars.

On the 15th of October, 1879, in a letter addressed to Cardinal Lucca, prefect of the Congregation of Studies, he announces the intention of founding at Rome an Academy intended to defend and to explain the doctrine of St. Thomas; he then unfolds his project of having published a new and complete edition of the works of the holy Doctor to replace the edition of St. Pius IX, now become very rare.

On the 8th of May, 1880, occurred the solemn inauguration of the Academy, of which Cardinal Pecci, brother of His Holiness, was declared president. As for the edition of the works of St. Thomas, it is an enterprise which will take time. The preparatory work was entrusted

to the order of St. Dominic under the control of a commission of Cardinals.

In the Universities of Louvain, of Fribourg, of Lille, and of Washington, in the great seminaries, chairs of Thomist philosophy arose at the Pontiff's voice, and soon the teaching of the Angel of the School reigned anew as sovereign over Catholic philosophy and theology.

CHAPTER X.

(1870-1884.)

The Religious Situation in France—The Decrees against the Religious Congregations—Persecution—The Encyclical Nobilissima Gallorum Gens.

THERE is no sight more strange or curious to a thoughtful mind than the state of France, from the religious and political points of view. We believe that the French people is in itself profoundly Catholic; but its government is not. A baneful sect has for years been dictating anti-religious laws to France. The explanation of this situation is without doubt to be found in the internal quarrels of the Catholics. At the beginning of the Pontificate of Leo XIII. these divisions were visible to all.

Their adversaries were but little more united. But a man found the secret of grouping, of disciplining, and of subjecting to himself almost all the factions of the Republican party. This man was Leon Gambetta, and the secret of his success lay in this war cry: "Clericalism is the enemy!" This dictator ruled France through his instruments. Jules Ferry was the first to execute his designs by attacking that one of the public liberties of which the Catholics had been able to make the best use, and which constituted their surest hope for the future—liberty of education.

Two projected laws, made public on the 15th of March, 1870, began the siege upon this bulwark of the Faith. The one aimed at destroying the higher Catholic instruction, and indirectly the intermediate and lower; the second had for its aim the assurance to the government of a docile instrument in the reorganization of the superior council of public instruction. A third project, presented soon afterwards by Paul Bert, was intended to remove the religious orders from the primary teaching, by the suppression of the letter of obedience which replaced the academic diplomas for the teaching communities.

On the 20th of March appeared two decrees worthy of the worst despots. The first proscribed the Jesuits, ordering them to decamp with their belongings within three months' time, a period prolonged until the 31st of August for the teaching houses. The second obliged all the congregations of men and women within three months to solicit the authorization of the State under penalty of their falling also under the application of the

famous "existing laws." These decrees were carried out with a brutality worthy of the cynicism which formed them. Then followed the successive expulsions of the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Benedictines, and the Augustinians, effected by means of revolting abuses of the public force, and in which the honor of the army was compromised by making it besiege the convents.

Some Catholics were astonished that the Holy Father did not raise his voice in protest against such indignities. Several went even so far as to blame his conduct. These doubts and criticisms were unreasonable.

At the beginning of the struggle, Leo XIII had believed that he ought to abstain from a public display which might have compromised the most weighty interests of the Church in France, and close the door to conciliatory proceedings which might be hoped for from the ministry. But he had made his complaints heard through the diplomatic channel. When these hopes were deceived, Leo XIII, who had no longer to be so cautious, condemned the proceedings of the French government in an eloquent letter to Cardinal Guibert, dated the 22nd of October, 1880. In it the Pope highly praised the conduct of the bishops and the faithful, as well as the heroic examples given by magistrates who had broken off their career rather than co-operate in the execution of such decrees.

The letter of the Pope consoled the Catholics greatly, but as might have been expected, it did not stop the government in its course of persecution. The years which followed were marked by unceasing attacks against the Catholic religion. Finally, Leo XIII, moved by so many evils, resumed his complaints in a letter which he addressed to the President of the Republic in March, 1883. This letter displayed paternal tenderness towards France and at the same time concentrated sorrow and firmness. It showed how mistaken those Catholics were who had accused Leo XIII of weakness or inaction towards a persecuting government.

If we were at liberty to write the history of the relations between the Holy See and the French Republic during these last years according to the secret documents, the attitude of the Pope would be justified in a striking manner. For the moment, except a couple of significant letters, we have at our disposal public documents only. These in themselves throw a sufficient light upon these relations and on the sentiments of the Holy Father with regard to France. In this connection we are going to give special attention to the Encyclical *Nobilissima Gallorum gens* which solemnly recapitulated the evils of the Church in France, at the same time indicating the causes and pointing out remedies.

After having recalled the great glories of Christianity in France, the praises which she has deserved from the Popes and finally the gifts which she has received from God in the natural order of things, Leo XIII af-

firms that France, "in some sort forgetful of herself, has sometimes avoided the duties which God has imposed upon her. However, she has not given herself up entirely to this folly, nor for any length of time." But we have arrived at a point where human society, inoculated with the poison of bad doctrine, seems to wish completely to rid itself of Christian institutions. The causes of this evil from which France suffers have been first the heterodox philosophy which has given birth to a spirit of unrestrained liberty, and then the efforts of secret societies, sworn to oppress Catholicism. The Pontiff shows that "prosperity cannot reign in the State when the virtue of religion is extinguished." Without the idea of God, authority and laws lose their force; tyranny among the rulers, rebellion among the subjects are the fruits of forgetfulness of God. Moreover, without recourse to God, it is impossible to attract His protection, so necessary for the well-being of society. For Christian nations as for individuals "it is as salutary to submit to the plans of God as it is dangerous to depart from them." This is shown amply by history, especially by the history of France in these later times.

Leo XIII then sets forth the blessings of religion to society first in the family, then in the State. For the good of the family it is necessary that the child be brought up in a Christian manner. That is why the Church has always condemned secular schools. Nothing, moreover, is more conducive to the general good than the idea of a God, a creator, an avenger and rewarder, "without which the young cannot tolerate any rule for an honest life, and accustomed to denying their passions nothing they come easily to stir up disturbances in the State." Then dwelling more particularly upon what concerns the welfare of the State the Encyclical calls to mind that there are two societies independent in their own spheres, the temporal and the spiritual, but that there are mixed matters in which each intervenes in his own manner, and in which nothing can be more advantageous to both than to regulate them by common consent. That is what the civil authority understood at the conclusion of the revolutionary troubles at the commencement of this century. Hence the conclusion of the Concordat in which Pius IX showed the greatest condescension towards the French government. The results were happy in that for the Church it revived Christian traditions, and for the State it secured a pledge of tranquillity and stability. In the midst of the revolutionary intrigues of the present time such a result ought to be sufficient to maintain such a happy agreement, for nothing could be more imprudent nor more dangerous in such moments than to cut off the beneficent intervention of the Church.

Unfortunately the Pope is reduced to deploring acts contrary to the well-being of the Church and projects looking toward the abolition of the

Concordat. Leo XIII recalls the complaints which he has addressed upon this subject to the government, which has testified that it was willing to receive them in a spirit of fairness. He recalls his letters to Cardinal Guibert concerning the persecution of the religious orders, and to the President of the Republic upon other measures hostile to the good of souls. He praises the courageous conduct of the Bishops in the affair of the decrees and in their efforts to establish good schools. He declares that no one has a right to find in that a cause for considering them enemies of the republic, since they are only doing their duty in defending souls. He exhorts them to continue in the same way and to preserve among themselves a necessary union. He congratulates himself on examples of virtue given by a zealous and charitable clergy, by numerous members of the laity, full of courage in the profession of faith and the practice of good works.

To preserve and increase these blessings, Leo XIII wishes that the clergy abound in capable men, and be in all submission to the Bishops; that the laity strive valiantly in the defense of religion, especially by speech and with the pen: that to this end they endeavor to be united among themselves and be ready to sacrifice their personal opinions, if necessary for the common good. These counsels apply especially to those that write; these also are to be perfectly docile to the bishops who are the only legitimate heads, when it is a question of fighting for religion.

Finally, the Pontiff earnestly recommends prayer and public penance to be offered to God and Jesus Christ, whose name is blasphemed and denied by the impious and especially by an unbridled press. He affirms his love for France and the hope of seeing the advantageous union become more and more consolidated which has always existed between her and the Holy See.

CHAPTER XI.

(1880-1883.)

The Encyclical ARCANUM upon Christian Marriage—The Encyclical SANCTA DEI CIVITAS on the Propagation of the Faith—Jubilee of 1881—The Encyclical ROMANOS PONTIFICES on the Relations of the Bishops and Regulars in England—The Encyclical DIUTURNUM on Civil Authority.

THE anxiety displayed by Leo XIII for the religious peace of the State did not make him lose sight of the family, that primordial society which is as the foundation and the first constituent element—the cell they would say in physiology—of political society.

On the 14th of February, 1880, appeared the important Encyclical *Arcanum* on Christian marriage. Leo XIII there recalls first the divine origin of marriage and the perversion introduced into this institution by the corruption of paganism, by the bad laws of princes, and the criminal customs of people practicing polygamy, polyandry, divorce. Christ came to restore to marriage its first dignity and its indissolubility, to raise it to the dignity of a sacrament, and to determine the rights and duties of married people among themselves and toward their children as well as the duties of these latter. Christian marriage thus established was entrusted to the guardianship and authority of the Church. It is wrong, then, for those opposed to all religious restraint to endeavor to remove marriage from the authority of the Church, and to submit it to temporal power by the institution of "civil marriage." The whole history of the Church is a protest against such a conception of things. In imitation of Christ Himself, the Church has always pronounced upon marriages of its own authority, and in no wise by the authority of the Christian emperors when the Roman empire had passed over to Christianity. The latter explicitly recognized the exclusive right of the Church in this matter. It is useless to seek to establish a distinction between the nuptial contract and the sacrament. "There can exist no true nor legitimate matrimonial contract which may not be by means of the same sacrament. For Christ has enriched marriage with the dignity of a sacrament." Moreover, marriage is a sacrament because it signifies and produces grace, in representing the mystical marriage of Christ and of the Church by

the indissoluble union between man and woman, a union which is marriage itself. The naturalistic theories upon marriage are not only false but pernicious because they hinder the good which God had in view, by attaching to it the graces best fitted to render the family most happy and most virtuous. In reality these theories have weakened, even among Christians, the salutary efficacy of marriage. The burdens of marriage appear intolerable, and legislators grant the opportunity of divorce, a fertile source of divisions, hatred, evils for the children, shame for women, and of unbridled license. History everywhere shows us how real these evils are, and shows that the Roman Pontiffs have merited well of humanity by defending the sanctity of marriage against the most powerful princes, the Henry VIIIs, the Napoleon Firsts, and others. Would to God that sovereigns had understood these truths! . . . The Church besides does not deny the relations which marriage has with human things and consequently with civil power; it recognizes the distinction between the two powers, and, in things which are dependent on both, it desires to see a harmony reign which may turn to the advantage of both. The Encyclical closes with an exhortation to the Bishops urging them to keep these truths before their eyes and to act in such a way that Christians may conform their conduct to them.

The Encyclical *Sancta Dei Civitas,* of the 3rd of December, 1880, treats of a very different subject, but one no less important for the welfare of souls. It has for its object the Propagation of the Faith and the works of the Holy Childhood and of the Schools of the Orient. To preach the word of God, says Leo XIII, such is the first means of spreading the true faith. But they are working to this end also who furnish missionaries with material aid and help them with their prayers. These two last means are within reach of everybody. No one is so poor as to be unable to give a slight alms to the Propagation of the Faith, nor so busy as to be unable to say a short prayer with this intention. The societies who busy themselves with this aim merit great praise, especially the work of the Propagation of the Faith, founded at Lyons at the beginning of this century and extended to-day throughout the whole world. The other two works mentioned above assist this by taking specially for their aim childhood and adolescence. Persecutions, the irreligious spirit of the age, the material wretchedness of the time, the obstacles opposed to the recruiting of missionaries, have lessened the number of those engaging in these works, the quantity of alms, and the number of evangelical workmen. On the other hand the field of the apostleship has been increased by the discovery of new countries and new peoples, and the ministers of error compete with the Catholic missions. Hence the greatness of the evangelical work and its spiritual advantage, for those who contribute to

it must stimulate all Christians to support it with their alms and prayers. Let the Bishops invite the faithful to do so and let them favor the vocation of missionaries.

The year 1880 ended among these concerns and in the midst of diplomatic difficulties of every kind. It had been sufficiently disturbed to lead the Sovereign Pontiff to feel the need of having recourse anew to the universal prayer of the Church. He did so by proclaiming a new jubilee in his Encyclical, *Militans Dei Ecclesia,* dated the 12th of March, 1881. This Encyclical presents a distracting picture of the painful condition in which the Church finds itself in consequence of the power and malice of its enemies, especially in the capital of the Christian world, where the Sovereign Pontiff, deprived of his lawful rights, and checked in a thousand ways in the exercise of his supreme ministry, possesses nought but a vain image of the royal majesty which they have left him as though in derision. In affecting terms the Pope describes the spoils of which the Church is a victim in Rome and which have spread as far as the institution of the Propaganda, respected hitherto by all revolutions; oppressive laws, obstacles raised to the Catholic instruction of the young, the profanation even of churches and the multiplication of Protestant Chapels, in a word, the sum total of a situation become intolerable for the Vicar of Jesus Christ and the reflex influence of which is making itself felt in all the rest of the world. Rome and the entire world are in such a state that society, already smitten by so many calamities, awaits still greater ones. In this combat of which the stake is the salvation of souls, the Pope understands "that all courage and human industry would be vain if heaven did not send an opportune aid." In consequence a new jubilee was proclaimed for the purpose of supplicating divine compassion by prayer, penance, and good works. The works of the Propagation of the Faith, of the Holy Childhood and of the Schools of the Orient, were specially recommended by the Pontiff to the alms of the Jubilee.

While the situation in Ireland was giving the Pontiff deep concern, as we shall see later on, England, its neighbor, was attracting attention from another point of view. Vexatious strife between the Bishops and the religious orders threatened there to compromise the progress of Catholicism. These divisions were the result of an uncertainty which prevailed touching the privileges of the regular missionaries and the ordinary rights of the Bishops, since the Catholic hierarchy had been re-established in England. Leo XIII adjusted this situation by defining the rights of each by his constitution *Romanos Pontifices* of the 8th of May, 1881, a remarkable monument of canonical jurisprudence.

In the midst of anxieties and emotions which attacked him on every

sue, the Pope found an agreeable diversion in the canonization of the Blessed Claire of Montefalco, of the Blessed Jean-Baptiste de Rossi and Laurent de Brindes, finally of that astonishing mendicant, Benoit Labre, whose elevation to the honors of the altar seems an audacious defiance hurled at an age wholly concerned with material progress and sensual refinements. The canonization took place in the immense hall which is surmounted by the Portico of St. Peter's, on the 8th of December, 1881, in the midst of a numerous throng of Bishops and of the faithful. It was the first time since the Piedmontese invasion that Rome had seen the pomp of these admirable ceremonies.

The situation of Europe and of the civilized world, more and more threatened by sectarian conspiracies, and by the terrifying success which had just crowned these plots in the assassination of the Emperor of Russia, decided Leo XIII once more to sound to the princes and the people the voice of Peter, the supreme minister of truth.

His Encyclical *Diuturnum* of the 29th of June, 1881, on political power, begins with affirming that the war made on the Church has finally had its inevitable result, that is to say, the shaking of civil authority and the license of the multitude, carried even to robbery and assassination: witness the death of the Emperor of Russia, at which the world is still trembling. Great is the power of Catholic truth to avoid the like disorders and to assure public peace and tranquillity. This is why Leo XIII believes it his duty to teach all what the Catholic Faith demands of them in questions of this kind.

He enters upon the subject by affirming that in every society, an inexplicable necessity demands the presence of an authority which may control it. Hence the arrogance of rebellions has never been able to attain this end: to obey anyone. However, they have succeeded in lessening the strength and the majesty of authority, especially dating from the religious innovations of the sixteenth century. At that time they began, indeed, to proclaim an exaggerated liberty, and at pleasure to invent theories upon the origin and constitution of society. Hence a crowd of moderns, following the philosophers of the past, wish that all authority should come from the people " in such a way that those who have authority in society do not exercise it as if it were their own, but as if it had been assigned by the people, and assigned in such a way that it could be revoked by the people who have granted it. Catholics think differently and derive authority from God as its natural and necessary head." This does not prevent the heads of society, in certain cases, being chosen by the multitude; but in this choice the "rights of imperial power are not conferred, authority is not given; they only indicate who is to exercise it." There is no question in this of political form and there is nothing which

prevents the Church from approving of a government of one or of several, if it is just. That is why people are not forbidden, provided they respect justice, to give themselves the kind of government which best suits their character or the institutions and customs of their ancestors.

The Encyclical teaches then, according to the Scripture and the Fathers, that the political power comes from God; then following the example of the Fathers themselves, it proves it by reason. Nature, or rather God, the author of Nature, demands the social life for humanity; which is shown by the faculty of speech and by a host of natural tendencies which man cannot satisfy, and necessary things, which he cannot possess in solitude. Hence the necessity of one authority which may unite and urge the wishes of all toward the common good. This authority, then, is desired by God, the author of Nature. Moreover, the social life demands that those who command claim obedience under pain of penalty; but such power can come only from God and not from man by himself. After having refuted the false opinion of those who attribute the origin of society to a voluntary social compact, the Pontiff sets forth the advantages of the Catholic doctrine, and, in the first place, the dignity and the security which result for the governing from this communication of the divine power to which the citizens ought to submit for conscience's sake. The only reason which can be given for a refusal of obedience is an opposition manifest between the orders received and natural right or the will of God. "In this case the authority of princes is without value; for it is null where justice is lacking." In order that this justice may subsist, it is important that the governed understand that political power is not made for private interest, but for the good of those who are governed, and that they shall render a strict account to God whose justice and charity they are to imitate in their government. Thus public peace is preserved and at the same time the dignity of the princes, and those of the subjects are given a safeguard, and the latter know that in the judgment of God their princes are their equals, and that obedience is due to them only in virtue of the image of God whose imprint civil authority bears. The Church has always endeavored to further that Christian form of the civil power in the souls and in the practical life of the people. It was this which produced the obedience of the first Christians to the pagan emperors who persecuted them, an obedience which they refused only when divine law was concerned, without ever thinking of resisting seditiously. When the power became Christian, the Church marked it more than ever with a sacred character by giving it even a ritual consecration and by instituting a Holy Empire, which would have produced the finest fruits for the good of the Church and of the State, if princes and peoples had

remained faithful to the intentions of the Church. As long as concord reigned between the two powers, the Church intervened, now to pacify the peoples in revolt against authority, now to carry to the princes the complaints of the population.

On the contrary, the false ideas concerning the political power have produced in practice only license, seditions, carnage; while on the theoretical ground, they passed from the doctrines of the so-called Reformation to those of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, to end in communism, nihilism, and the like.

In the meantime the princes are powerless to check these outbursts. The severity of penalties is useless, for, as St. Thomas says, fear serves only to irritate more those who endure it against those who are the cause of it, and to make them seize every opportunity of revolt. We need, then, a more lofty principle of obedience, and this principle is conscience, it is the fear of God. Religion alone is efficacious to bend human wills and to bring them, not only to obedience, but to love towards authority, which is the greatest safeguard of social order.

It is rightly, then, that the Popes have always combated the doctrines of the innovators in these matters. Leo XIII ends by inviting the princes to profit by the powerful aid which the Church offers them, and to protect religion for the good of the State itself. The Church cannot be an object of suspicion either to the princes or to the people. She reminds princes of their duty, but at the same time assures them of their authority; she recognizes their supreme power in the order of civil things, and, in mixed questions, she wishes harmony between the two powers. As for the people, she has for them a mother's love; it is she who has inspired gentleness of manners and laws: "Never the enemy of honest liberty, she has always and everywhere detested tyranny." The Pontiff finally expresses the desire that these doctrines be everywhere expounded by the Bishops.

Such is this admirable Encyclical, which we may justly call the politico-religious chart of Catholic rulers. Would to God that it was understood and observed by those who have the power in their hands and who watch over the political and social interests of the people!

CHAPTER XII.

(1881-1883.)

Agrarian and Nationalist Agitation in Ireland—Letter to Mgr. McCabe —Declarations of the Irish Episcopate at Maynooth—The Agitation Continues—Attitude of the English Government—Letter to the Irish Episcopate—Circular of the Propaganda against the Parnell Testimonial Fund—Mission of M. Errington.

HILE from the Catholic point of view other European affairs were taking a better turn, grave anxiety was given to Leo XIII by a people whose attachment to the Catholic religion, in spite of atrocious persecutions, is admired by the whole world. We mean the Irish people.

From the year 1881 the affairs of Ireland attracted the attention of the Pontiff in a special way.

Unfortunate Ireland, subject so many years to England, was struggling more than ever under the grasp of her pitiless tyrant. The political movement for obtaining "Home Rule" was complicated by a terrible agrarian situation, rendered still more terrible by the recent storms which had destroyed the crops. We shall not enter into the complicated details of the Irish question, nor shall we set forth the grievances of the Irish tenantry agaist their landlords.

Let us, however, recall that there had been formed in 1879 an agrarian league which had for its aim the promotion of a reduction of the excessive farm rents, the facilitating of the acquisition of the soil by the tenants, and the imposing upon the government laws allowing the farmer to become a proprietor. This league bound the farmers among themselves into a powerful organization, thanks to which the tenant threatened with expulsion by his landlord found himself well supported.

At first the clergy observed towards this asociation an attitude of neutral observation, but soon, following in the lead of the Archbishop of Cashel, they favored the efforts of the league. The program of the league had in itself nothing which might have hindered the Catholic clergy from supporting it.

It was not always so with the means employed to make this program succeed. The chief of the National party, Charles Stewart Parnell, associated the political cause of Home Rule with that of the

Land League. His claims, tending to obtain for Ireland an autonomous government, were substantially legitimate.

It was he who, in a meeting held at Ennis on the 10th of September, 1880, hurled the anathema against the farmer who would consent to take on lease a farm from which another had been expelled. "It is necessary to flee from him, to leave him alone everywhere, to put the ban of society upon him."

These orders were to be the seed of revolt. They had for their first victim a certain Captain Boycott, who had, as agent of an English Lord, evicted an insolvent farmer. Put under the ban by the Land League, he was obliged to leave Ireland. The misfortunes gave his name to a system which was henceforth to be employed toward inexorable landlords and their accomplices of every degree.

But Mr. Parnell had unchained forces which he was unable to restrain. Not only did the boycotting extend to unexpected proportions, but agrarian crimes were multiplied.

This state of things suggested to Leo XIII the idea of addressing to the Irish people counsels fitted to keep them in the right way and which were at the same time most conformable to their interests. This he did in a letter of the 3rd of January, addressed to Mgr. McCabe, Archbishop of Dublin. While deploring the sad condition of Ireland and praising its patience in secular matters and its unshaken constancy in the faith, he calls to mind the fact that the Popes have not ceased to persuade the Irish not to depart from moderation and justice, even when the excess of suffering seemed most strongly to attract this people to violence and sedition; for it is not permitted to disturb order. Leo XIII then shows that the legal way is most advantageous to the cause of Ireland; and he strongly urges the Bishops to do everything to keep their flocks within the bounds of duty.

The words of the Pope, explained and repeated by the Bishops, had a wholesome effect. In the English parliament the wisdom and opportuneness of the Roman document were admired, and one member expressed the opinion that if there had existed diplomatic relations between England and the Vatican, the situation in Ireland would never have attained to its present gravity. This idea made way, and it was soon to be followed by the mission of Mr. Errington. One cannot, however, conceal the fact that if British pride interpreted in its favor the kindly intervention of the Pope urging the Irish to submission, the part of the letter of the Pontiff which affirmed the legitimacy of the grievances of Ireland was not so well understood in England. The Irish Bishops gave a striking commentary to this part of the Pontifical letter in the resolutions which they took at Maynooth. They there

declared that the state of things created by the agrarian code in Ireland was dangerous to peace, and that a reform of the legislation could alone restore order. These prelates at the same time addressed a combined letter to Leo XIII, in which they thanked him for his letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, and deplored the fact that certain violences had done harm to the cause of the Irish people justly demanding its rights. Finally, they begged the Holy Father not to lend his ear to the intentional exaggerations spread abroad by the English newspapers concerning the disorders which had resulted.

In the meantime the situation in Ireland took a more and more serious turn. The premier, Mr. Gladstone, was favorably disposed to the Irish cause. Nevertheless, he felt himself constrained to present a bill of coercion, giving the government extraordinary powers. The bill was carried, despite the opposition of the Irish representatives, who, speaking ceaselessly and reviving incident upon incident, held the majority of the parliament in check for days and days, to such an extent that a modification of the regulation of the house restraining the liberty of the speakers was finally necessitated.

However, Mr. Gladstone understood that it was not sufficient to reestablish material order, but that it was just as necessary to remove the causes of the disorder. A commission made an inquiry of an impartial nature into the condition of the sister isle and verified the good foundation of the majority of the claims of the Land League. The result of this inquiry was the land act of 1881, which rendered justice to a good part of these claims.

One of its principal clauses gave to the farmer, who was not in agreement with his landlord, the right of having the price of his tenure fixed for a minimum duration of fifteen years by a commission appointed for this purpose. The commission was also authorized to make advances, payable in a certain number of years, to the farmer who, by agreement with his landlord, was willing to acquire his farm. The land act of 1881 finally sanctioned the principle of the co-proprietorship of the farmer by recognizing his ability to sell his right as worker of the soil.

The National party replied to these concessions only by abstention. The law of coercion, and the tyranny with which Mr. Forster, the secretary in chief for Ireland, had applied it, had exasperated the Irish representatives to the extent of making them spurn the overtures of the Prime Minister. They refused then to vote for the law, which was adopted in spite of their abstention.

The ministry, in a measure losing its coolness, had Parnell and

The Ducal Hall, Where Pilgrims are usually Received by Leo XIII.

Tribune and Chair of St. Peter.
On the left of the Tribuna is the Mausoleum of Paul III;
on the right is the Mausoleum of Urban VIII.

the principal Irish leaders arrested and shut up in Kilmainham prison in consequence of their violent language in the popular meetings.

Moreover, the land act had not the desired result. In 1881 the expulsions numbered 17,341. On the other hand, the agrarian assaults continued.

In these lamentable circumstances the Irish Bishops kept the calm and restrained attitude which the Sovereign Pontiff had recommended. They induced the people to try the loyal application of the new legislation. The Pope gave the Bishops a pledge of his satisfaction in raising the Archbishop of Dublin, Mgr. McCabe, to the Cardinalate in the Consistory of the 27th of March, 1882. Lastly he reiterated his advice to Ireland in his letter of the 1st of August, 1882, which was rendered seasonable by the new troubles by which unfortunate Erin was disturbed.

In this he declared that the affairs of Ireland caused him "more anxiety than consolation" because of the serious miseries which this island continued to suffer, and also because of the violence of passions which led so many of the Irish to disorder and even to murder, "as if it were possible that the hope of public happiness could rest in dishonor and crime." "The Irish are permitted," concluded Leo XIII, "to seek a remedy for their misfortune; they are permitted to struggle for their rights; for what is permitted to every nation must not be denied Ireland. But the advantageous must submit to the laws of the just, and it is shameful to defend by injustice any cause however just it may be." He then condemns, as contrary to justice, the employment of violence, and secret societies. He finally expresses the wish to see Ireland recover her prosperity without doing any wrong; and his confidence in the spirit of justice of the English government, who cannot overlook the fact that the welfare of Ireland is intimately connected with the peace of the whole empire.

But the waves of popular feeling were too much stirred up in Ireland, and, on the other hand, the government was too much occupied in violent repression to allow the words of the Pope to produce their full effect.

Irish patriotism had just asserted itself in a fund called the Parnell Testimonial for the judicial assistance of the Irish leader who had been brought before the English courts. Subscriptions were organized for the formation of this fund. Some things indicated that the money thus collected was intended to foment resistance, rather than to pay the expenses of justice. That was why the Pope, through the instrumentality of the Prefect of the Propaganda, caused a declaration to be made, in a circular addressed to the Irish episcopate, that the Holy See

could not approve of this undertaking and forbade the clergy to take any part in it. The circular, however, took care to add "that it is lawful for the Irish to seek to better their sad condition, . . . and that it is not forbidden to collect money to improve the condition of the Irish." What Rome forbade the clergy to do was to pay for physical force while taking part in an undertaking which had this hidden but real end.

It was in the year 1883 that the officious mission of Mr. Errington to the Vatican took place, by means of which Protestant England, reduced in some measure to extremities in its struggle with Ireland, had recourse, as a last resource, to the pacifying influence of the Papacy. Unfortunately "the deputy Errington, although a Catholic and an Irishman," says M. Casoli, to whom we leave the responsibility of his assertions, "did not do honor to this double capacity, and after having vainly sought to conduct negotiations in the exclusive interest of those who wished to put an end to the tiresome agitation without renouncing the oppression of Ireland, and having hoped by guile to deprive this nation of the support of the Pope, who never fails the victims of tyranny and injustice, he finally threw off the mask in an impertinent and scornful letter published by *United Ireland* on the 1st of August, 1885."

Be that as it may, the voice of Leo XIII had made itself heard in Ireland and in England. It had not succeeded in completely overcoming political agitations. But there, as in Germany, the great lines of the policy of the Pontiff and the bases of his action already plainly appeared. To keep the Irish movement in the legal paths, and that in the common interest of the Irish cause and of the peace of the British empire, such was the end aimed at by Leo XIII, and nothing could make him lose sight of it in the years which followed, as we shall soon have to show.

CHAPTER XIII.

(1881-1884.)

The Night of July 13, 1881—Outrage upon the Remains of Pius IX—Protests of Leo XIII—Great Italian Pilgrimage—Encyclical Etsi Nos upon Italy—The Conversion of the Property of the Propaganda—Leo XIII and the Third Order of St. Francis.

SLAVIC pilgrimage, the source of much consolation to the Pope, had scarcely quitted Rome when a shocking event stupefied the entire Catholic world. It had been decided, with the consent of the civil authorities, that during the night of the 13th of July, 1881, the remains of Pius IX, deposited temporarily in St. Peter's, should be transferred with the greatest secrecy to the Church of St. Laurence-outside-the-Walls, which had been chosen by the deceased Pontiff as his burial place. The government had been opposed to the transfer being made with ceremony, thus giving a new proof of the liberty and security of the Papacy. In spite of the precautions taken, the secret had reached the public, so that at midnight an immense crowd was stationed upon the square of St. Peter's, desirous of rendering a last homage to Pius IX. A modest hearse and three carriages composed the whole train; it was followed and surrounded by all Rome.

On the way the fronts of the houses spontaneously shone with lights and from the open windows the people threw flowers. A hundred thousand persons, counting enemies themselves, formed an escort of honor to the remains of Pius the Great, while numerous candles lighted up the scene. It was a posthumous triumph for the Pontiff who had died a victim of the revolution, and who through it had experienced all sorrows and insults. Such a spectacle excited the rage of the Revolutionists, and soon a mob assailed the funeral procession, threatening to throw the body of Pius IX into the Tiber or a sewer. The police at first seemed to wish to prevent the disorder, but soon they ceased to oppose any effective resistance to it, and the long distance which separates St. Peter's from St. Laurence was traversed by the procession among curses, blasphemies, and blows coming from some hundreds of wretches. The restraint of the Catholics was admirable. They confined themselves to

marching in good order without replying to the acts of violence, although many of them had been wounded.

The Italian government naturally sought to throw the cause of these excesses upon the provocation offered by the Catholics. An infamous press in abominable terms gave an approbation to the scenes of the night of the 13th of July which was still more unworthy than the scenes themselves. But these odious facts were not to turn to the moral advantage of Italy and its government. They showed, under a striking aspect, the difficulties of the Pope's situation at Rome; if such excesses were possible against the lifeless remains of a Pontiff, what would have been the lot of a living Pope if he had wished to come out of his voluntary prison in the Vatican? Hence the protests which Leo XIII addressed to the powers through his Secretary of State, and which he loudly renewed in the address of the 4th of August, gave food for reflection to all those who were not blinded by bigotry. In this address the Pope declared himself obliged to guard the memory of his predecessor and the majesty of the Pontificate, and to deplore "the heinous and horrible crime" which had just been committed. He imputed the fault to those who had defended neither religion nor the rights of citizens against the fury of the impious. "Let the Catholic world see," cried the Pontiff, "in what security We are left in the Eternal City! . . . It understands better and better that We can actually reside in Rome only as captive in the Vatican." In the midst of these sorrows and fears, the Pope has nevertheless one consolation, that is "the love and religion of the Romans, who, surrounded by ambushes and harassed in every way, nevertheless persevere in obedience to the Church and faithfulness to the Pontiff with rare courage, and lose no opportunity of showing to what an extent these virtues are rooted in their souls." At the same time there arrived at the Vatican from every quarter of the world the indignant protests of the Bishops and the faithful against the crime of the 13th of July, and against the situation of the Pope in his city of Rome. Hence the mad fury of sectarianism only served to throw a sinister light upon the condition to which the head of Catholicism had been reduced by its efforts.

The great majority of the Italian people were in revolt at an incident the disgrace of which was a reflection upon the whole of Italy. A protest which they circulated in the country was signed by millions, and on the 16th of October, 20,000 pilgrims came to offer the Pope the respectful homage of the peoples of Italy for him whom they called the First of the Italians. Led by Cardinal Agostini, the Patriarch of Venice, they were received by Leo XIII in the Cathedral of St. Peter's, where entrance had been reserved for them. The Pontiff lavished upon the

Italians the most urgent exhortations to concord and fidelity to the Holy See. "Let none of you," he said to them, "yield to the force of circumstances and of the times, by accustoming yourselves by culpable indifference to a state of things which neither We ourselves nor any of Our successors will ever be able to accept."

Leo XIII renewed his protests before the College of Cardinals at the feast of Christmas. He then declared that the situation was becoming "daily more intolerable," and the report was then circulated that the Holy Father was thinking of abandoning Rome.

The more and more lamentable situation of Italy from the religious point of view inspired Leo XIII at the beginning of the year 1882 with his Encyclical *Etsi Nos* of the 15th of February. After having depicted in striking terms the efforts made to dechristianize Italy, by the suppression of the religious orders, the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property, the secularization of marriage and instruction, by the religious decay increasing in Rome and the insults to which the Papacy is exposed, Leo XIII calls to mind that Italy is indebted to the Popes for having defended her against the barbarians and against the Turks. It is to them that she owes the flourishing of the fine arts in her midst; it is to them that she owes peace in the unity of faith. This civilizing and peace-bringing power has never been lost by the Church and the Pope; it is a necessary effect of the Catholic doctrines. Those, on the contrary, who, while declaring themselves the enthusiastic defenders of their fatherland, spread abroad in it perverse teachings, are dragging Italy to her ruin. History, and recent history, shows to what excesses these doctrines lead. Italy has not yet made the attempt as much as other nations, because, in her, faith has deeply penetrated the masses of the people; but woe to her if she allows herself to be seduced! More ungrateful than other peoples, she will undergo more terrible punishments. Let Italy recognize that her conflict with the Pope is harmful for her! The Pontiff then sets forth remedies for the distracting situation which he has just described. It is needful, before everything, to show the people the blessings of the faith and to unmask the falsehood of its adversaries. It is necessary to come out of this languor with which certain Catholics of Italy have been reproached, who have hitherto been unaccustomed to the struggles of modern times. Catholic societies for the young must be formed, also for the workingmen and for the support of the poor. Schools must be established, the liberty of the Roman Pontiff must be defended, a good press must be supported and the evil press fought against by warning the people severely that it ought to make a prudent choice of its reading. As for good writers, let them act in unity and according to a predetermined plan; let them neglect no sources of useful

information; let them use a calm and readily understood language; finally let the rich Catholics support the good press with their money and let no one fear to battle. "For the Church has not borne and brought up sons that at the moment when the need makes itself felt she may not be able to expect assistance from them, but that each one of them may put the salvation of souls and the good of religion before his ease and private gain." Leo XIII insists upon one of the greatest pledges of success in the struggle for the Church—the good education of the clergy. The priest of our days is not only to possess the sacred doctrines, but also the philosophical sciences, physics, history; for upon all these grounds he has to fight against well prepared and very astute adversaries. He needs eminent virtue to live in the midst of the unbridled license of this age without taking harm; he needs, moreover, a zeal and an activity which may make up for the small number of those entering the Church, a sad effect of the laws hostile to the Church. Finally Leo XIII urges the Italians to give liberally for the maintenance of seminaries, and he offers for their imitation the ever memorable examples of generosity given by the French and by the Belgians in similar circumstances.

In the meantime different actions were in a peremptory fashion showing the exorbitant claims of the Italian government with regard to the Church and the Pontiff. The most monstrous of these was the conversion of the property of the Propaganda, this eminently Catholic and international institution, which is, as it were, the right arm of the Papacy in the administration of its missions. This did not prevent the Italian government from applying to the Propaganda the law of spoliation of United Italy, which obliges ecclesiastical institutions, whose life they have deigned to preserve, to convert all their property into an Italian revenue. It was useless to have recourse to the courts. A first judgment, given on the 19th of June, 1880, confirmed upon appeal on the 13th of November of the same year, and sanctioned by the Court of Cassation, all sections being united, on the 29th of June, 1884, came once more to show that, in Italy, might makes right. By this iniquitous decree, the propagation of the faith in the entire world found itself in some measure at the discretion of the government of Italy; the free disposition of the funds of the Propaganda was restrained in large part, and its patrimony, an institution naturally universal, found itself connected in lot with the deplorable Italian finances, waiting until a new law might with a stroke of the pen appropriate the paltry paper which they still left in the hands of the Congregation.

It was useless for the Holy Father to protest through the organ of the Nuncios and of the Prefect of the Propaganda; the spoliation fol-

lowed its course and at the end of 1884 it was an accomplished fact. On the 15th of March of the same year, to attenuate as much as possible the effects of this act, the Holy See had decided to transfer outside of Italy the management of the patrimony of the Congregation. For this purpose proctors were established in Europe, three in Asia, one in Africa, seven in America, and one in Oceania. To these proctors Catholics were invited henceforth to send their subscriptions.

While opposing the enemies of religion in Italy and elsewhere Leo XIII was unceasingly occupied with the means of increasing the proper spirit of Christianity among the faithful, which is alone able to arm them for the terrible struggles of the present hour. For this purpose he thought of the patriarch of Assisi, who renewed, by his burning ardor and zeal, the spiritual life of the Christians of the Middle Ages.

On the 17th of September, 1882, upon the occasion of the eighth centenary of St. Francis of Assisi, appeared an Encyclical in which Leo XIII made a panegyric of this holy man, and showed the immense and happy influence exercised by him in the midst of the agitation of his time. He compared the vices and bloody disturbances of that time with the still greater vices and revolutions of our own time, and expressed the hope of seeing the Franciscan renew for the welfare of souls the prodigious efforts of former times. He particularly recommended the Third Order of St. Francis as wonderfully fitted to spread abroad the virtues of obedience and penance, of self-denial and charity, which constitute the strongest barrier to the encroachment of unchristian socialism. "When St. Francis appeared," he said, "the multiple error of the Albigenses, by exciting revolts against the power of the Church, had at the same time overturned civil society and prepared the way for a kind of socialism. To-day in like manner the number of the favorers and propagators of naturalism is increased; they stubbornly deny that it is necessary to submit to the Church, and, gradually passing all bounds, they do not spare even civil society, they approve of violence and popular sedition; they raise the agrarian question; they foster the passions of the working classes; they weaken the foundations of public and private order." To these perverse tendencies, Leo XIII opposes the Franciscan spirit, the enemy of greed, the friend of piety, of obedience, and the respecter of the rights of others. "Nothing is better than this spirit for extirpating, by the roots, violence, injustice, the passion for new things, the hatred between different classes of citizens, everything in which rest at once the principles and the arms of false socialism."

CHAPTER XIV.

(1882-1884.)

Leo XIII and Historical Studies—Encyclicals upon the Rosary—The Encyclical HUMANUM GENUS upon Freemasonry—National Council of Baltimore.

WE HAVE seen above how Leo XIII endeavored to remedy the confusion into which philosophical studies had fallen. His attention was soon attracted by another branch of human knowledge in which great progress was to be made. We mean history. We may affirm that since the coming of our Lord the history of civilization has been intermingled with that of the Popes, to such an extent have these taken part in all the events which have stirred the successive generations of human kind. But the Popes have not only made history, so to speak, they are in addition the guardians of the most precious historical treasures—the archives of the Vatican, whose riches have remained unexplored during the long course of ages.

The Pontiff understood that these two facts imposed upon him the duty and gave him the means of enlightening the world, to great profit of truth and consequently of religion.

He expressed his ideas and manifested his intentions upon this subject in a letter which he addressed to the Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenroether upon historical studies, dated the 18th of August, 1883. After having observed that the enemies of the Church, principally in Italy, wished to make history serve their hatred against the Roman Pontificate, he states that the historic monuments of the past are great defenses of the Church and the Papacy. He denounces the conspiracy against truth begun to the detriment of Catholicism by the publicists of Magdeburg, and continued by the later heterodox schools, and even, notably in Italy, by men who call themselves Catholics. Silence with regard to praiseworthy things, exaggeration of things which are less so, unjust accusations and rash suspicion of intentions—these are the arms of which use has been made against the Popes and against the Church in order to show that they have been unworthy of humanity and civilization. These accusations are affirmed in volumes and in pamphlets, they are popularized by the newspapers and by the theatre. They penetrate,

Interior of the Hall of Segnatura, Raphael, Vatican

Loggia of Raphael, The Vatican.
The Illustrations on the Ceiling Represent Scenes from the Bible,
Beginning with the Creation.

finally, into the lower schools where children learn to despise the sacred things and persons. The evil is still greater in the higher schools where history is studied more philosophically. It is there particularly that they attack the beneficent influence of Christian institutions without any regard to the contradictions into which they fall, nor to the darkness with which they thus surround the philosophy of history. Rapidly describing then the benefits derived from the Roman Pontificate, Leo XIII summarily tabulates the truth of the facts. The part of the Popes in the invasions of the barbarians, in the struggle against the German emperors and against Napoleon the First, in the defense of Europe against the Turks, lastly in the protection of science and art, appears in all its greatness, in all its utility, especially with regard to Italy. To deny these truths is to wish to fly in the face of evidence. Thus several learned Protestants have been brought to render homage to the Roman Pontificate. In the meantime history, falsified and become the servant of passions and parties, does an immense and irreparable evil in the minds of the young and in society as a whole. It is urgent then to oppose a remedy to such serious evils. This remedy will consist in the conscientious and deep study made by sincere scientists, in the seeking out of sources, in prudence of judgment, in the judicious choice of subjects. It is also necessary to make good historical manuals for the schools. Great geniuses have opened the way in the healthy and profound study of history. St. Augustine, notably, is the founder and master of the philosophy of history. All those who have separated themselves from the principles which he has laid down have lost the real knowledge of the causes which operate in history. Finally the Pope charges the three Cardinals named above to reorganize the historical studies in the Vatican library by enlisting scholars who may be able to make researches there according to rules to be established by Pontifical authority. He finally deplores the blindness of those who wish to put Italy in a state of hostility to the Pontificate, in spite of all the teachings of history which show us the enemies of the Holy See running ever to their own destruction.

During the following years Leo XIII did not cease to work for the realization of his plans for the raising up of historical studies, and at the present time the library and archives of the Vatican have no need to envy the most celebrated institutes of a similar kind in Europe. Everything has been done to facilitate research there; documents have been rendered more accessible, and the great work of making a catalogue is being actively carried on. A school of paleography and of applied criticism has been installed in the Vatican itself. In brief, the Holy Father has put everything in operation to justify this word which he addressed on the 24th of February, 1884, to the German Circle of History: "*Ex-*

haust the sources as far as possible. That is why I have opened the archives of the Vatican to you."

"For the last six years," said the *Norddeutsche allgemeine Zeitung* in 1890, "the Pope has opened the archives of the Vatican to the literary men of all countries and of every creed, with a kindness which one meets but seldom in the archives of Europe. It was this measure which was the cause of the establishment of an historical institute at Rome, founded and maintained by the Prussian government, in order that a certain number of German scholars might in largest measure profit by the treasures concealed in the archives of the Vatican. . . . The good-will displayed towards German scholars and the encouragement granted to their scientific works have become a regular thing with the administration of the archives." It was to recognize these favorable proceedings that the illustrious Father Denifle, of the order of St. Dominic, the sub-archivist of the Holy See, was appointed a member of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin. He is without doubt the first Catholic monk to whom such an honor has fallen.

To still further facilitate the labors of the scholars, the Holy Father has just founded a consulting library which, opened in October, 1892, numbers already 30,000 volumes.

However, Leo XIII does not limit himself to facilitating the access to the archives of the Vatican; he also labors for the progress of the historical sciences by having rare editions published, such as that of the *Regesta Pontificum* and the phototype edition of the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus* of the Greek New Testament (1209), which reproduces with absolute fidelity, due to the latest improvements of the photographic art, this manuscript of so great importance for Biblical studies. The learned Basilian Abbé Cozza-Luzzi, Vice-Librarian of the Holy Roman Church, has attached his name to this important work.

On the 1st of September, 1883, appeared an Encyclical which came, we may say, from the bottom of the Pope's heart. In it he prescribed for the month of October the daily recitation of the Rosary throughout the world. This was preceded by the most touching considerations upon devotion to Mary and upon the aid which the Church has found in this devotion, particularly in the reciting of the Rosary, in the most critical periods of its history. This Pontifical document, which breathes forth the most tender confidence in the Queen of Heaven, bears witness to the supernatural faith and hope which guide the Popes in the direction of the Church in the midst of the preoccupations which it causes for them. It was followed by several apostolic letters upon the same subject.

This persistent recommendation by Leo XIII of the recitation of the Rosary is an indication which is not to be lost sight of by Catholics.

Would we not say that the Pope is moved in this by what the ecclesiastical language calls a supernatural instinct, *supernaturalis instinctus,* and that he has, as it were, an assurance from above that now, as formerly, the Church will triumph through Mary and through her Rosary? In any case, it is touching to see this philosopher Pope, this scholar, this politician, this protector of arts, putting more trust in the simple recitation of the Rosary than in all the resources put in motion by his powerful and intelligent activity.

In the midst of the various cares of which we have up till now traced the rapid picture, six years had already passed away. In all countries and in all fields Leo XIII had sought to exalt the Church and to restore to it its salutary influence, but, everywhere and always, he had come into collision with a secret influence whose power he had sometimes succeeded in overcoming, without ever being able to disarm it nor to triumph completely over it. The Pontiff believed that the moment had come openly to denounce to the universe this irreconcilable enemy of all social good, Freemasonry.

On the 20th of April, 1884, he unmasked it in the Encyclical *Humanum Genus,* a veritable act of accusation, which resumes and condenses the reasons for condemnation borne by the Church against this pernicious association.

The Encyclical exposes the innermost constitution of Masonry and of analogous sects, their propagation, their aim, the justice of the reproof with which they inspire the Church, and the means for fighting against their influence. Masonry is, as it were, the center of all the clandestine sects of which the very character is secrecy. The real aim of these societies, the names of their chief leaders, are concealed not only from the profane, but from affiliated inferiors as well. Hence the grades of their hierarchy, the severity of their discipline, the oath demanded from those who join and the fidelity to this oath even under pain of death. All these things indicate how pernicious Freemasonry really is. And truly the fruits which it produces are detestable. Resting upon naturalism, it tends towards the destruction of society and of the Church. Leo XIII declares, however, that he does not mean to accuse each Mason in particular, nor even all secret societies absolutely, of all the crimes with which he reproaches these societies in general. Among those who join there are many who are ignorant of the real aim of the sects. Among these latter themselves, there are perhaps some who do not approve of certain extreme results of their principles, and others who do not venture to apply them. However that may be, we must judge these societies rather according to the sum total of their principles than according to individual facts. Now what is the essence of Naturalism if not inde-

pendence and sovereignty of human reason and human nature? Naturalism does not admit any revelation, and consequently denies the Church, the organ and guardian of the celestial doctrines. But what does Masonry do? It translates into act the principles of naturalism. It seeks to destroy the action of the Church in society. It wishes the absolute separation of Church and State, and that the constitution of the latter be outside of Christian influence. It oppresses the Church in her liberty, in her property, in her ministers. It attacks her in speech, in the press, in education. It furiously assails the Roman Pontificate, its civil power, its religious power and the institutions which emanate from it. If it does not oblige those who join it to formally deny the Christian religion, it is to better conceal its designs and to spread abroad religious indifference by feigning to be equally well disposed towards all religions. Naturalism does not limit itself to fighting against the Church. It comes soon to the shaking even of the truths which reason makes known naturally, such as the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul. Masonry follows the same way. The question of the existence of God has again recently raised grave discussions in its midst, of which the final result has been the indifferent admission of atheists and of pantheists into this society.

The denial of the existence of God brings the denial of creation, the denial of Providence and of the future life. Hence the most pernicious results for public and private morals, and the overthrowing of all principles of justice. Hence this civic morality outside of all religious principle which the naturalists and Masons extol, and the deplorable fruits which are not slow in making themselves manifest in the depravity of morals, unbridled license of opinions and the increase of crime. It could not be otherwise when denying the original corruption of human nature and the necessity of strife against this nature, they affirm on the contrary its power, exaggerate its excellence and wish to place in it the rule of justice. From these false principles flow the satisfaction everywhere offered to the passions, the license of a shameless press, a corrupt theatre, the abject realism of art, the ever increasing search after the sensual life. The effects of naturalism upon domestic society are not less pernicious; it denies the indissolubility of marriage and submits the bond to civil authority, it wishes an education which shall be indifferent to religious matters. That also is what the Freemasons are endeavoring to introduce into laws and morals, and not without deplorable success. As for political principles, the naturalists proclaim the absolute equality of all men and reject all authority which would not emanate from man himself, the source and origin of civil rights and duties. They wish, moreover, that the State be atheist and indifferent to all religions. Now

these things are also wished by the Freemasons, who seek to make them prevail in society, thus preparing the way for communism.

Leo XIII then shows the malice of these theories; they breathe forth a Satanic hatred against Christ, they degrade human nature and drive it to ruin, they destroy the family, and by removing God they shake the very foundation of society and civil authority to the mischief of the States. Would to God that their chiefs might be called to account! But the Masons have insinuated themselves with princes in order to make them their allies in their war against the Church, which they accuse of aiming at the royal rights when they themselves are fomenting revolutions against kings, when the latter displease them. The people have been victims of a like deception. After having become champions of liberty and of popular prosperity, checked, they said, by princes and by the Church, the Freemasons have reduced the people to an ever increasing oppression, taking away from them the assistance which Christian charity reserves for its unfortunate members.

In opposition to these frauds and these crimes of Freemasonry appears the Church, supporting with its divine authority the dignity and authority of the civil power, preaching and establishing peace everywhere, with its sister virtues, concord, mercy, justice, and charity. To this end it is necessary that the Bishops be aided by a pious and intelligent clergy, and also by a laity animated with love for religion and for their country. By making the Church known and loved they will wean the faithful away from secret societies. The Pope again recommends the Third Order of St. Francis, that model of a holy liberty, equality, fraternity, as an excellent instrument for fighting the sects. He also greatly praises the workingmen's corporations, which by protecting the morals and the interests of the working class under the aegis of religion are of a nature to snatch this interesting class away from the seductions of the sects. Leo XIII rejoices to see these corporations re-established in several places, at the same time as the societies of employers are busying themselves with the religious instruction of the workingmen and their families. He also praises the action of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He recommends the giving of great attention to the education of children and young people, and suggests to those who have opportunity, to induce children not to enter any society without the knowledge of their parents, nor without the consent of their priest or confessor. Finally the Pontiff invites all the faithful to pray earnestly and to remain united for struggle against the terrible enemy which they have to combat.

Soon after the publication of the Encyclical *Humanum Genus*, an instruction came from the Holy Office more precisely defining the means to be employed for struggling against Masonry, and to declare in the

name of the Holy Father that the reservation of censure against Freemasons and the obligation to denounce their secret chiefs remained suspended for a year. Leo XIII wished thus to facilitate the return of sectarians who might have felt themselves touched with grace as a result of the grave warnings of the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

On the 5th of November, 1884, the national council of Baltimore opened, for which preparation had been made, under the very eyes of Leo XIII, by the Archbishops of the United States assembled at Rome and presided over by Cardinals Simeoni and Franzelin.

The council of Baltimore comprised eighty-eight Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, without counting those of Canada who had been invited. About a thousand ecclesiastical dignitaries were likewise present. These solemn sessions, which gave a good idea of the power of Catholicism in the great American Republic, resulted in putting the ecclesiastical institutions of this country in a position to face the necessities of a future full of promise. The organization of parochial schools, of small and large seminaries, spiritual aid to be given to immigrants, to the negroes and to the Indians, ecclesiastical procedure, finance, the press, recommended societies, temperance societies—nothing escaped the care of the Fathers of Baltimore. The collective pastoral letter which they addressed to the faithful of the United States contains a magnificent testimonial of homage to Leo XIII, under whose supervision the resolutions of the council were discussed, having been suggested by his solicitude.

CHAPTER XV.

(1885-1887.)

The Encyclical IMMORTALE DEI upon the Christian Constitution of the State — Recrudescence of Anticlericalism in Italy — Address before the Consistory of May 23, 1887—Vain Plans for Agreement between the Holy See and United Italy—Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal Rampolla, the New Secretary of State (15th of June, 1887)—The Rosary in Rome.

ON THE 19th of November, 1885, appeared the very important Encyclical *Immortale Dei* upon the constitution of the State, a real code of Christian politics which all statesmen ought to ponder.

At the beginning Leo XIII explains his aim: to refute the old but ever renewed calumny which represents the Church as the enemy of the State, and to compare the new theories upon the State with Christian doctrine in order to show how much the latter surpasses all others, and in order that each one may know what he ought to observe in such an important matter.

The Pope then establishes principles. It is in the nature of man to live in a civilized society which alone can guarantee him the things necessary for life and for the development of intelligence. But no society can exist without authority to unite and control it. The existence of an authority is then desired by nature, that is to say by God, its author. All authority comes from God. "The right to command is not necessarily attached by Him to any form of government. But in every form of government those governing ought to have respect to God, the Supreme Master of the world, and to propose Him to themselves in their administration as the example and the law to follow." The government ought then to be just and mild for the advantage of the citizens, under pain of being condemned by the judgment of God. In virtue of these principles the power will attract to itself the honorable and voluntary obedience of the citizens, who will feel themselves obliged to respect an authority coming from God, if they do not wish to resist the will of God Himself. That is why having recourse to sedition "is a crime of high treason, not only human but divine."

It follows therefore that one of the principal duties of society is to

render public worship to God. Not any more than individuals "can societies without crime conduct themselves as though God did not exist;" those who govern ought therefore to honor the name of God, to do nothing hostile to religion, but on the contrary to favor and defend it. It is besides one of their duties towards the citizens themselves, for the good of whom society exists and who have the right not to be checked, but aided in the acquisition of eternal good by those who have the care of the temporal prosperity of the State.

It is not difficult to recognize the true religion, that which has the right to the protection of civil authority. The truth of the prophecies, striking miracles, the rapidity with which the faith has been propagated among its enemies and in spite of the greatest obstacles, the testimony of the martyrs, evidently prove that this religion is the Church founded by Jesus Christ and which has for its aim the eternal salvation of souls. The Church by reason of its end is supernatural and spiritual although, like civil society, composed of men. It is perfect, that is to say, provided with all that is necessary to attain its end by its very nature and by virtue of its own right. The supreme nobility of its end and of its power "do not allow anyone to consider it inferior to civil society, nor subject to it in any way whatever." In short, Christ has conferred upon the Church a real legislative power as well as judicial and coercive, to recognize and decide things regarding religion. The Church has always claimed and exercised this power. Princes themselves have recognized it in their acts.

We must then conclude that God "has divided the government of the human race between two powers, the one set over divine things, the other over human." Each is "supreme in its own district," and acts within definite limits. But as these powers are both exercised upon the same subjects, it may come to pass that one and the same thing may, under different titles, be submitted to the jurisdiction of both. Divine Providence, which has established these two powers, must have clearly assigned their ways to them. If it were otherwise we should see conflicts of authority arise, and man, anxious and uneasy, would hesitate between the opposite orders of two powers to which he cannot, without failing in his duty, refuse obedience. Now it is highly repugnant to think that the wisdom and goodness of God can permit such disorder, when in the lower order of physical things He has so perfectly co-ordinated natural forces that without hindering one another all agree together to realize the end toward which the universe is striving. It is necessary then that there be between the two powers a harmonious co-ordination, which we may very properly compare to the union which exists between the soul and the body. To gain an exact idea of this co-ordination we must consider the nature of each of these powers, and examine the rela-

Pope Leo XIII Distributing Holy Communion in the Private Chapel of the Vatican

Jubilee of the People of Rome in the Vatican Corbile Del Belvidere,
July 6, 1902, to Receive the Benediction of
His Holiness Leo XIII.

tive excellence of their purposes: the one having for its closest and principal end earthly interests; the other, the procuring of celestial and eternal good. "Then all that is sacred in human affairs, under whatever name it may go, all that by nature or purpose relates to the salvation of souls or to the worship of God, all this belongs solely to the authority of the Church. As for the things which constitute the civil and political domain, it is proper that they be submitted to civil authority, since JESUS CHRIST has ordered to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." There are, however, circumstances in which another mode of understanding may assure to each of the two powers liberty of movement without fear of conflict; that is when the heads of the States and the Roman Pontiff are in agreement by means of a treaty called the Concordat.

Leo XIII unfolds the advantages which the Christian constitution of society offers for princes and for the people, for civil society and for the family, as well as for individuals. To the princes it assures an authority which has the elements of the divine; to the people a worthy obedience. It makes peace reign, it assures good government to the nations, and it facilitates for individuals the gaining of eternal salvation as well as temporal prosperity. The family acquires stability; the duties of the married couple, the dignity of the wife, the authority of the husband, the welfare of the children are wonderfully preserved.

The Encyclical proves, by the history of Christian societies, the truth of these assertions. Then it considers the doctrine of the Church upon the constitution of society as compared with the doctrines of the new law, which establish the absolute equality of men among themselves, in such a way as to proclaim them exempt from all authority, free to think and act as they please. Whence it follows that authority consists only in the will of the people who command themselves without conferring any right, properly so called, upon those who exercise authority, and without regard to the authority of God towards whom neither men nor societies owe any duty. The fruits of these theories are deplorable for the Church, whose laws are despised, which they remove from the education of youth from whom they take away their rights of perfect society to reduce them to the rank of the simple communities which are in the State. Those who govern make decrees according to their own pleasure upon mixed questions; they pass judgment upon Christian marriages; they refuse the Church the right of ownership. Where the rights of the Church are recognized by civil laws, they proclaim that it is necessary to separate the Church from the State, in order in reality to banish the first entirely, or to submit it entirely to the civil power.

Leo XIII then shows how little in accord with reason are the theories

of the new law. An authority which does not derive from God could not preserve the public peace in a sure manner. It opens the door for continual revolutions. Indifference with regard to all religions is only a disguised atheism, and a manifest absurdity besides, for all religions which contradict one another cannot all possess the truth, nor be all equally good. Liberty of thinking everything and of saying everything is the source of many evils. "Liberty is to be exercised in what is true and good. It is not right to allow that to be published abroad which is contrary to truth, to virtue; it is much less so to favor and protect these things by laws." To restrain the liberty of the Church and to separate it from the legislation, from education, from the family, is a serious and pernicious error and the disastrous consequences which result from it for the morality of the people are too evident. To subject the Church to civil society is a rash act which disturbs profoundly the order wished by God, hinders the good which the Church might do in the world, and prepares the way for the most harmful dissensions for the State itself.

After having recalled the condemnations of the Church, especially those of Gregory XVI and of Pius IX in his Syllabus, against the theories of the new right, the Pontiff maintains that these condemnations do not attack in themselves any of the different forms of government, nor the more or less great participation of the people in the direction of affairs, a participation which may sometimes be useful and sometimes even obligatory. We cannot deduce from it that the Church is opposed to a just liberty, nor that it condemns the toleration of the false religions, when such a course is rendered legitimate by the necessity of obtaining a great good or avoiding a great evil. It also approves of a liberty which favors the prosperity of the citizens and defends the Church against arbitrary violence. It is she who has called into being or encouraged the precautions taken against tyranny of princes, municipal and family liberties, provisions which assure the honor, the person and the equality of the rights of citizens. She applauds all progress, and, far from being the enemy of modern inventions, she favors all that may develop the sciences in which she recognizes, as it were, the reflection of the divine intelligence.

These truths being more and more despised, it is important that Catholics should know what are their duties concerning this order of things. Let them then adhere firmly to the decisions of the Holy See touching modern liberty whose evil fruits are manifest to all eyes. Without doubt a society in which they would persecute the Christian name tyrannically would be less tolerable than a government founded upon these liberties; "however, these principles upon which such a government rests are such that no one can approve them in themselves." Let everyone courageously

accomplish in private life the precepts of the Gospel and the ecclesiastics, let each one love and defend the Church, let him make her loved and honored by his dependents. It is besides a matter of importance for the public safety that Catholics take part in the administration of communities, notably in seconding the Christian education of the young. As a general rule, also, it will be advantageous for Catholics to take part in the government of every nation, not in order to approve whatever therein is contrary to good, but to direct it into a good course and to infuse into it the living blood of wisdom and Christian virtue. Thus the first Christians acted and their example ought to be imitated in the present times. As faithful and devoted children of the Church, Catholics ought to make use of the institutions of different peoples for the profit of truth and justice, by endeavoring to make them conform to the principles of Christian society. For this end it is necessary to take for guidance the teachings of the Holy See, to obey the Bishops, to defend steadily and strongly the Catholic doctrine and to recall that one cannot revere the authority of the Church in private life and reject it in public life. Doubtless it is permissible to discuss purely political questions, such as the best form of government and the like, but it is not right to incriminate the intentions or the faith of faithful and submissive Catholics because they may have a different opinion upon these matters from ours. The journalists must especially have these instructions before their eyes. Let all Catholics remove themselves from party spirit; let them forget their internal dissensions and let them labor by common agreement for the good of the Church and of civil society.

The Encyclical *Immortale Dei,* while setting forth principles which Leo XIII endeavors upon every occasion to inculcate in the Catholics of different nations and to make them pass into the domain of action, gives prominence, in a masterly way, to the happy influence exercised by the Church upon civil society for the good of the people.

The Satanic fury of the revolution was rampant more than ever during the year 1886. The anticlerical congresses were multiplied, and the insults to the Pontificate were redoubled to such an extent as to render necessary the sending of a note from the Holy See to all the foreign governments.

These outrages did not come from the shallow waters of the press alone. A minister, M. Grimaldi, in the midst of a public ceremony denounced the Vatican as the " enemy of Italy " and urged all Liberals to unite to fight this common adversary. On the 20th of September, the anniversary of the taking of Rome, Humbert the First, King of Italy, mingled his voice with the concert which arose from all sides by qualifying Rome as an intangible conquest in a telegram addressed to the Roman

authorities. This word was a bonanza to the moderate Liberals, and it is still repeated in all ways and on every occasion.

To this outbreak of antipapal enthusiasm Leo XIII responded in his speech to the organizers of the centenary of Gregory VII: "Oh! if the Italians were able to separate their love of country and desire for prosperity from the dark projects of sectarianism, and if, inspired with their really good and supreme interest, they considered it a duty and an honor to support the cause of the Pontiff and to defend the independence and liberty of the Apostolic See!" We seem to hear in these words an echo of the exclamation of the divine Master before Jerusalem: *Si scires at tu. . . . Quae ad pacem sunt tibi!*

On the 23rd of May, 1887, in a speech before the Consistory, the Pope addressed a new and urgent invitation to the Italians: "We have long and earnestly desired," he said, "that security and peace be restored to the Italians, and that an end be put to the fatal disagreement which separates them from the Roman Pontificate; but the justice and dignity of the Holy See, wounded as they are by a conspiracy which is the work of sectarianism rather than of the people, must remain safe. In order that an agreement may be made a state of things will have to be found, such that the Roman Pontificate may not be subjected to the power of anyone, and that it may enjoy the real liberty to which it is entitled. This result, far from being prejudicial to public affairs in Italy, would greatly contribute to assure its safety and prosperity."

These words answered the general feeling too well not to produce a great impression. Everyone, indeed, except those who were blinded by the sectarian spirit, felt more or less confusedly that the misunderstanding with the Pope is the death of Italy. They began on all sides to look for a solution, but outside of the ground indicated by the Pope himself. In the meantime the idea of transferring the capital to Florence, to prepare the way for the restoration of Rome to the Holy See, appeared more or less timidly in the press.

In official regions themselves they understood the necessity of a reconciliation, but they set out from this principle laid down by the former minister, Bonghi, in the Nuova Antolegia: "As for territory, Italy can neither restore nor give the Pontiff much nor little."

However, the more or less conciliatory language of the ministerial press was in no wise in harmony with the acts of government. In the month of July ecclesiastical tithes were abolished by a law which openly violated the rights of the parish priests. King Humbert, after having hastened to sanction this law, replied to the complaints of Cardinal Agostini, Patriarch of Venice, that he had merely done his duty and

that he would brave "securely the judgment of God, of the Church, and of society."

If some visionaries had made a mistake concerning the intentions of Leo XIII, they were soon deceived. The Pope thought it well to set forth the great lines of his policy in a letter to the new Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, on the 16th of June, 1887.

In this remarkable document the Pontiff determines from the first the end which he is pursuing: to make the people and their governments profit by the beneficent influence of the Church, not only for the salvation of souls, but also for the good of human society. It has been for this purpose that he has always endeavored to reconcile nations with the Church and to form friendly relations with them, by re-establishing religious peace everywhere. The thing is the more necessary as governments are everywhere struggling against the spirit of disorder. "But safety will not come without the Church."

The Pope next makes a kind of review of the different nations and expresses his deep hope of being of use to each of them. In Austria, he counts upon the piety of the Emperor to second his efforts. In France, he wishes to see the sufferings of the Church cease and peace reign between the Holy See and the State "in the observance according to the letter and spirit" of the agreements concluded between the two powers. In Spain, "the first of all needs" is "the union of the Catholics in the generous and disinterested defense of religion, in sincere devotion to the Holy See, in reciprocal charity, in order that they may not allow themselves to be carried away by individual aims nor by the spirit of contention." In Belgium, Leo XIII wishes to see spread more and more abroad "the beneficent action of the Church in public and private life." In Prussia, the work of religious pacification must continue. Much has already been obtained there. The Emperor and the rulers are well disposed; it is permitted to hope then that they will finally "satisfy the just desires of the Catholic population of this country, who have so well deserved of religion by their firmness and their constancy."

Leo unfolds his views and anxiety with regard to other countries and finally arrives at Italy. This part of the letter gives in admirably clear and condensed form the doctrine so many times developed by the Pontiff in his writings and speeches upon the independence of the Holy See. He states that they have misinterpreted the words pronounced by him in the Consistory of the 23rd of May, "by giving them a forced meaning and one quite contrary to his intention." What the Pope claims is "a real sovereignty," the sole efficacious guarantee of liberty which the divine Founder of the Church himself wishes for the Papacy, and which

makes of it a society perfect by nature and independent of every human power.

History, moreover, shows the perfect legitimacy of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, and the advantages which it has given to Europe and to Italy. The violence and the injustice of which it has been the victim do not in the least prove that the designs of God are changed with respect to it. On the contrary, the efforts of the enemies of the Church and of the sectarians, who by attacking the temporal power have only wished the destruction of the spiritual power, show that these designs have remained the same. Leo XIII characterizes as foolish the hope of seeing the Popes sacrifice their civil sovereignty, the sole pledge of their liberty in the government of the Church. It is especially when one studies the question of the sovereignty of the Pope with relation to the city of Rome that the necessity of this sovereignty is brought home to one. Rome is indeed the See of the Pontificate, the center to which the faithful have the right to come, "in all confidence and with entire security," to give homage and to receive instruction. Not only ought the liberty of the Pope not to be checked in it, "but it should be evident to all that it is not." It is in Rome, moreover, that the Catholic life ought to be enabled to develop with the greatest perfection, solemnity and regularity.

Politicians themselves recognize that the position of the Pope is not what it ought to be. But they make vain and useless attempts to find other expedients. History shows indeed that, for the Popes, there is no mean between sovereignty and persecution, or at least dependence. It is useless to look for the time when the present condition of the Papacy will be rendered acceptable. A vital interest will always drive the Popes and Catholics to claim the most efficacious guarantee of the liberty of the Holy See.

The actual state of things is, moreover, ruinous for Italy, to which it brings internally only embarrassment, an unquiet conscience, increase of irreligion and immorality; externally, discontent of the Catholics, difficulties and dangers of a political order "from which We desire with all Our heart," adds the Holy Father, "that our country be delivered."

Leo XIII next refutes the objections made against the temporal power of the Popes. To renounce it, it would be necessary to renounce great advantages. But the Pontifical sovereignty is not in reality opposed to any genuine good. History proves it.

The unity of the State would have to be renounced. But is this unity such an absolute good that without it there might be neither prosperity nor greatness for the nations? So superior that it is to prevail over every other good? Many powerful nations do not possess this kind of

unity so much boasted in Italy. Moreover, the blessing of justice, the foundation of the prosperity of States, is far superior to all other blessings, especially when it is connected with the very lofty interest of religion and of the Church. And is not this blessing equally connected with the good of Italy, thanks to the power which it would give to its religious unity, the foundation of all other unity? They appeal to civilization and to progress, but the Church is the mother of progress, intellectual and moral, first of all. As for other forms of progress, in art, industry and commerce, they are blessed by her and would find their broad place under the civil sovereignty of the Popes. As formerly it would at the same time diminish public positions, it would cause charitable works to flourish and would take the greatest care of the laboring classes, to the great benefit of the general prosperity. Leo XIII has finally no difficulty in showing how foolish is the reproach made against the Pope of wishing to return to the Middle Ages. The advantages of the sovereignty of the Pontiffs are for all time; "it would be folly to suppress it merely because it flourished in the Middle Ages." Moreover, these Middle Ages, besides the evils which they knew as all other periods have done, have also had merits which it would be unjust to overlook, "especially in this same Italy which in the Middle Ages attained such a high degree of splendor."

The letter which we have just analyzed put an end to certain illusions which existed in the minds of a good number of Catholics. But, as the Pope expected, it did not convert any of the obstinate adversaries of the Papacy. The Freemason Crispi had just taken the reins of power. Sectarianism was going to rule more than ever in Italy. Nothing remained for Leo XIII but to have recourse to supernatural means to spoke the progress of impiety. In a letter of the 31st of October, addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, he prescribed the daily and perpetual recitation of the Rosary in all the churches of Rome dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The Pope more than ever put his trust in her who bruised the head of the serpent, and it is by her assistance especially that he hoped for the success of his efforts on behalf of the welfare of the Church.

CHAPTER XVI.

(1880-1890.)

The Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII—The Vatican Exposition—The Encyclical Exeunte Jam Anno—The Irish Question: Decisions of the Holy Office—An English Mission at the Vatican—The Death of Cardinal Joseph Pecci.

THE last day of the year 1887 was to be a memorable date, not only in the life of Leo XIII, but in the history of the Roman Pontificate in the nineteenth century.

Ordained a priest on the 31st of December, 1837, Joachim Pecci had celebrated his first mass on the 1st of January, 1838. Fifty years had passed since then; half a century of Apostolic works, the last ten years of which had been filled by the incomparably glorious exercise of the sovereign Pontificate, and at the end of this long period, the supernaturally increased figure of the Sovereign Priest appeared dominating the universe and offering to humanity in his supreme teachings the answer to the implacable enigma which she was eager to guess without succeeding in it, the answer which was to make light and give peace.

Before this striking spectacle the world felt instinctively moved, and transformed the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII into a superb manifestation of faith, of admiration and of love, such as had never been seen since time began. One would have said that it was the dawn of the day caught sight of by Joseph de Maistre, when he wrote with almost prophetic intuition: "The time is drawing near when we shall have in the world the visible presence of the Papacy." A universal movement went through the world in 1888, drawing toward Rome sovereigns and peoples, Catholics and infidels, believers and skeptics, and before the throne of Leo XIII were seen ambassadors of every land bearing rich presents. Homage purely derived from courtesy does anyone say? Where and when has simple courtesy taken these externals of veneration? No, it was something more than the ordinary formalism of diplomacy. There was the feeling or the presentiment, ill-defined perhaps, but deep seated, of the unequaled power of the Papacy for the welfare of the nations and for the peace of the world.

Whether they willed to do so deliberately or whether they allowed

themselves to be drawn by the irresistible current, the powers participated largely in the festivities of the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII.

A preparation of three years had preceded the solemnities of the Jubilee; and while from one end of the globe to the other people were busied with gifts destined for the Vatican Exposition, a holy league of prayers and alms on behalf of the Holy Father was organized everywhere, creating between Rome and every part of the Catholic world a bond of love and activity which drew the hearts of men irresistibly to the Pope. The result of this long and affectionate preparation surpassed all expectations. The Jubilee Mass of Leo XIII was an unprecedented triumph; and while the splendors of the Pontifical procession were being displayed under the vaulted roof of St. Peter's, while an enthusiastic multitude was greeting Leo XIII and offering with him the saving victim over the tomb of the fisher of Galilee, at the same hour throughout the whole world, millions of the faithful were praying and communing on behalf of the Pope. It was Catholic unity in faith and love raising to God in a sublime outburst the Church and its head, the shepherd and the sheep. Then they saw an uninterrupted succession of pilgrimages bringing to the feet of the Pontiff delegations from all people, from every class, eager to receive instruction from his mouth, and the flame of "devotion to the Pope," as Father Faber said, revived at its own fireside, spread more ardently and more generously to all the Catholic world.

The Vatican Exposition was in some measure the tangible manifestation of the extent of the Catholic movement. The vast room which had been prepared for it had been found insufficient; the exposition entered gallery after gallery, hall after hall, accumulating works of art, products of industry, scientific discoveries, a real ethnographical museum, which presented in epitome the picture of the activity and civilization of the Catholic nations. Different from the similar expositions so numerous in our days, this exposition was not a vain display of objects intended to be sold or to be returned to the exhibitors; they were in some way the golden wedding presents, offered by the children of the Church to their Father. They valued at about ten million dollars the gifts exhibited at the Vatican, without speaking of about another million poured into Peter's Pence. The subscription for "the Collection" of the Jubilee Mass alone amounted to $600,000. These figures are worthy of notice in a silver age like ours.

Ever watchful to turn everything to account for the salvation of souls, Leo XIII profited by the universal attention of which he was the object in this year 1888 to make heard lessons of the highest importance in the Encyclical *Exeunte Jam Anno*.

In the celebration of a private event which had in itself nothing ex-

traordinary about it, and which nevertheless has stirred up in an unusual manner the feelings of all and given place to so many manifestations of joy, the Pope sees the proof of the great place which the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST occupies in the concerns of men, of the hope which they have in him in the midst of the difficulties which exist in our time, finally of the respect of the Catholics for the Roman Church, the Mother and Mistress of all others. Hence the duty of the Pontiff to give evidence of his gratitude to the Lord, and to make known to men the consolation experienced from their homage. "But we have," adds Leo XIII, "a greater and more sacred duty to perform," which is to make all understand that "respect toward the Holy See is real only if, being united with Christian virtues, it leads souls to salvation. This is why the Pope has determined to speak to his children, to exhort them freely to lead a holy life."

In order to be a Christian one must add to faith the practice of the virtues upon which depends not only eternal salvation, but also the prosperity of human society. Now, if we examine what is going on we must recognize that public and private morals are separating considerably from the precepts of the Gospel. The majority of men, forgetting whence they come and whither they go, are concentrating all their attention upon the fleeting and transitory goods of this world. From this desire of ease and luxury springs an unbridled greed for money which blinds men and often renders them unable to distinguish between just and unjust, giving them at the same time an insolent contempt for the misfortune of others. Their hearts puffed up by pride wish to recognize neither law nor authority. Add to this the seductions of vice, the impious and licentious theatre, "books and magazines composed for the purpose of turning virtue to ridicule and of glorifying shame," the arts themselves serving as a stimulus to the passions, and you will have the distracting picture of the miseries of the present time.

As for the future, it inspires just fear, because they are continually sowing in the breast of the young the seed of new evils. The Church is banished from the primary schools, and nothing is said to children of the precepts of religion at an age when it is especially necessary to form their minds in it. In the higher schools the danger is still greater because of the greater viciousness of the teaching which seems to be expressly intended to penetrate and imbue the minds of the young with false opinions. "They teach that everything in the world is matter, that the origin and nature of men and of beasts are identical." There are some who doubt the existence of a God, or who are mistaken as to His nature. From this corruption of opinions follows the destruction of the very essence of virtue, of right, of duty, of morality, and that in an

almost irreparable fashion, because the judgment is falsified and it becomes impossible to have recourse to the light of faith, the principle and foundation of justice.

We see, indeed, the consequences of these false doctrines with our own eyes; "rationalism, materialism, atheism have engendered socialism, communism, nihilism, the natural and almost necessary results of these principles." They deny the immortality of the soul; hence each one is to seek to be happy here below, and has no longer any right to submit to pain and toil voluntarily. What law will have the power to check the torrent of the passions? Does not all authority fail when that of a God who commands and defends all is repudiated? All must end in the most frightful disorder.

But there are causes for consolation and joy, for God has made the nations so that they may be cured. "The remedy consists in turning around and returning as individuals and as a whole people to JESUS CHRIST." The Pope unfolds this grave warning in a still more grave way. "Let men understand how contrary to the Christian life it is to seek after pleasures of every kind as is done now, to dread the efforts which virtue demands, and to refuse nothing whose agreeableness flatters the senses. Those who belong to Christ have sacrificed their flesh with its vices and its evil desires (Galat. v, 24). It follows that those who do not combine the exercise of suffering with contempt of pleasure do not belong to Christ. . . . This is not advice, but a duty, and one which concerns not only those who desire a more perfect kind of work, but all absolutely, to bear in their bodies the mortification of JESUS CHRIST" (II Cor. iv, 10).

Our age has become unaccustomed to hearing these great truths; it was opportune for Leo XIII to recall them solemnly. . . . The Pope continues to uphold the necessity of self-sacrifice, by showing that the "passions fight against the reason, disturb the mind and turn it aside from virtue with such tyranny that one can neither flee from vice nor accomplish his duties without a daily struggle." There are in this struggle various degrees of perfection, "but no one is exempt from the duty of overcoming his passions and those ought to do so with greater earnestness whose dealings with earthly affairs give greater incitement to evil, unless one is mad enough to believe that there is less need of watching where there is more peril. "The reward of this struggle is that, besides the eternal good, man will regain a great part of his original dignity, and the most precious of liberties, which snatches him away from the worst of masters, the passions. Moreover, what could society expect from a man who had not this disposition of mind? Will he be ready to merit well of society who measures by his selfishness what he is to do

or neglect? No one can be magnanimous, nor beneficent, nor charitable, nor self-controlled, who has not learned to conquer himself and to despise all human things for the sake of virtue.

Besides, the necessity of struggle and suffering for salvation is willed by Providence. It was the way voluntarily chosen by Our Lord, and imposed by Him upon His disciples with the seal of His blood. It is absolutely necessary, then, that one be removed from the seductions of luxury and the costly attractions of riches, the enjoyment of which is so insolently displayed around us, in order not to lose the eternal treasure by seeking too eagerly after the temporal one. "The complaint is generally made that our age is unproductive in energetic men. Let them return to Christian morals; seriousness and constancy will be restored at the same time to character."

But it does not suffice the Pontiff to recall these severe and useful truths; he indicates precisely the means whereby to make them pass into practice. The perpetual strife with corrupted nature demands before all things recourse to prayer. This is what gives power to overcome temptation. It is not less necessary to work for the salvation of our neighbor. Certainly the frailty of nature would be much less feared if the divine precept of the prayer had been less neglected, for God has promised His aid to him who calls upon Him. It is not astonishing, then, that prayer gives us, as St. John Chrysostom says, a power comparable to that of God Himself. It contains in itself, so to speak, the efficacious causes which bring God to have mercy upon us and to hear us favorably. Removal from earthly things, elevation of the soul towards God, consciousness of human infirmity, loving recourse to the goodness and power of the Creator—all that in some measure forces the Lord, He who resists the proud and gives His grace to the humble, to hearken unto us. Prayer, as all other virtues, springs from faith in God. But at the same time its exercise fosters faith. In this respect it is especially advantageous for our time. "For if the multitude is consumed with a thirst for unbounded liberty, if on every side arise the threatening ragings of the working classes, if the inhuman greed of the fortunate of the world never finds itself satisfied, nothing can better bring a remedy to these evils than Christian faith."

Leo XIII next turns to the ministers of God and reminds them that they are the light of the world, and that as such they ought to possess profound knowledge, capable of teaching men, of destroying error and of leading the multitude through the difficult paths of life. But they must add to this, holiness of life, for men follow example better than precept. It is not sufficient that the priest be free from the slavery of the passions, his dignity demands that he learn to exercise

an absolute control over himself. "Ye who seek to leave all things behind, remember to count yourselves among the things to be left behind," says St. Bernard. "What do I mean? Renounce principally and above everything else yourselves." It is only at this price that priests will be able to work successfully for the salvation of others, while assuring their own.

After this grave exhortation the Pontiff reviews the world and the Church. The actual evils, says he, ought not to discourage us, nor the difficulties to terrify us. Nations, as such, do not live beyond time. It is necessary, then, that they receive in time what is due to their merits. God rewards even guilty nations for the good which they may be able to do. But complete prosperity cannot exist without the public profession of virtue and justice, and "unjust actions are to be punished, and the more grievously the longer the faults are prolonged." What comforts the Pontiff is that all is for the glory of God as well as for the salvation of those who follow JESUS CHRIST with all their hearts, and of whom the Church is the Mother and the Mistress, the Church which is united to Christ by a community of combats and of victory. We do not fear, then, and cannot fear for the Church; but we fear much for the salvation of several who, passing proudly away from her, hurl themselves by divers errors into perdition; we are uneasy for those nations which we see removing themselves from God and falling asleep in foolish security in the presence of the immense danger which surrounds them.

The Church cannot lose its power of salvation and of healing. "If this virtue formerly delivered the world growing old in vice and lost in superstition, why could it not rescue it from its present lost condition? Let suspicions and accusations cease then; let the Church, delivered from all obstacles, be everywhere put in possession of her rights. . . . Then experience will show how far the light of the Gospel goes, and of what avail the virtue of the Redeemer can be."

Lastly, Leo XIII expresses the confidence with which the symptoms of the awakening of faith inspire him which have occurred in the year 1888, and turning towards the Lord, he addresses to Him this magnificent prayer, which should often be on the lips and in the hearts of the faithful:

"Thou seest, Lord, how the tempest blows from every quarter, and how violently the waves of the sea are stirred up by it. Command, we entreat of Thee, who alone art able, command the winds and the seas. Restore to the human race the true peace which the world cannot give; restore quiet and order. By Thy grace and at Thy bidding let men return unto the appointed order, reviving due piety toward God, justice

and love to their neighbors, moderation for themselves, conquering the passions by the reason. May Thy kingdom come and may they also who by vain striving seek truth and salvation afar from Thee, understand that unto Thee must submission and obedience be given. Thy laws are full of equity and paternal gentleness and Thou Thyself givest us the power of accomplishing them with ease. The life of man upon the earth is a strife, but Thou lookest upon the strife and givest aid unto man that he may triumph; thou raisest him up when he falls and Thou crownest him in his victory."

The Encyclical which we have just analyzed is, as it were, a spiritual monument raised in memory of the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII.

We have above related the events of Ireland up till 1883 Up to that time the situation had grown steadily worse. After the arrest of the principal Irish parliamentary leaders and the terrible repression of the disorders by Mr. Forster armed with the Coercion Bill, confusion arrived at its height in unfortunate Hibernia. They finally understood in London that the situation could not last long. A kind of treaty was negotiated with the heads of the nationalist movement, who were imprisoned, as we have said, at Kilmainham. Mr. Gladstone promised the abandonment of the coercive system, the dismissal of Mr. Forster, and a law regarding backward leases. Parnell was induced to withdraw the manifesto in which he had invited the farmers not to pay the rent. It seemed as though quiet was about to be restored when the horrible assassination of the new Secretary of Ireland, Lord Cavendish, and of Mr. Burke, in Phoenix Park, at Dublin, by the men called Invincibles, came to revive all the former quarrels. A new law of exception, the Criminal Act, was passed in spite of the desperate resistance of the Irish deputies.

Mr. Gladstone, however, kept his word to the leaders of the party and had an arrangement passed facilitating the regulation of rents in arrear; the distress of the peasants was such that 130,000 tenants claimed the benefit of this law. But at the same time the English government kept an iron hand over Ireland and repression followed its course, stirring up the fury of the sects. The often unjust executions were frequently answered by cruel assassinations.

The Whig ministry overturned, a Tory ministry succeeded in 1885. Lord Salisbury, who was the Premier, sought to make himself popular by the abolition of the Criminal Act and by a new agrarian law called Ashbourne's Act, intended to prepare the way for the approach of the farmers to property-holding.

Overthrown in its turn, the Tory Cabinet gave place to a new Whig Cabinet presided over by Mr. Gladstone. This latter, firmly determined

to work for the liberty of Ireland, openly proposed the adoption of Home Rule, but after memorable debates, his propositions were rejected on the 7th of June, 1886.

The Tories returned to power, and from that time began a period of the most brutal repression. The situation of Ireland was worse than ever. To remedy this state of things Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien conceived the plan of organizing a peaceful but invincible resistance, by means of what was called the Plan of Campaign. The practice of boycotting gave this situation exceptional gravity.

As the Holy See did not seem to approve of this movement there resulted distrust of its position. But Leo XIII remained in sympathy with Ireland. He gave a manifest proof of this by appointing Mgr. Walsh Archbishop of Dublin on the 3rd of July, 1885. Mgr. Walsh had been one of the firmest supporters of the national cause and his appointment was welcomed by the whole of Ireland. In the month of February, 1885, there was a meeting at Rome of sixteen Irish bishops to confer about the affairs of Ireland. Mgr. Persico, now Cardinal, was instructed to proceed to Ireland and to conduct a long and minute enquiry. Only when it was complete did a decree of the Holy Office appear, on the 13th of April, 1888, condemning the Plan of Campaign as contrary to Christian morality.

The Pontifical decision was made known to the public at the moment when the Tory Cabinet had just passed a most rigorous bill. Moreover, the decree of the Holy Office, which was not intended for publication, was, in consequence of an inexplicable indiscretion, divulged in the first place by the English press, whose triumphant sneers resounded sadly in the hearts of the Irish.

These circumstances excited indignation in Ireland. Meetings of protest were held, in which inconsiderate and violent words were uttered. The Bishops had to intervene. After deliberation in Dublin, on the 30th of May, 1888, they declared that the decree of the Holy Office was not concerned with political action, but with defining a question of morality. To this Leo XIII added his word of authority, in the Encyclical *Saepe Nos* of June 24, 1888, addressed to the Irish Bishops. In this he protested anew his love for Ireland, and his astonishment at the agitation produced, thanks to false interpretations, by a decree concerning a moral question, issued after a most searching examination.

The action of Leo XIII in Ireland was bitterly criticised by a writer in the *Contemporary Review*. He pretended to see in it merely the desire to bring about, at any price, closer relations with the English government, even though Ireland had to pay the expenses. He called the conduct of the Roman court precipitate and claimed that the Irish refused to

accept the doctrine of the Vatican, based upon the principle, he says, "that the Holy See has the right to interfere in all political questions."

The succinct narrative which we have just given of events in Ireland upsets the assertions of the anonymous author.

Without wishing to deny that the Holy See may have wished to bring about closer relations with the English government, it is manifest that such a thing was done merely in the common interest of Ireland and of England. As for the accusation of precipitation, it is childish, if we think that Leo XIII asked that the Irish Bishops come to Rome, and sent a most experienced man to investigate the matter, who spent months in the island. Finally the principle upon which the attitude of the Pope is based is not the right of the Church to intermingle in all political questions, but the right vindicated by the Encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae* "of making known what is honorable or base and what one ought to practice or shun in order to arrive at eternal salvation."

It would be a monstrous injustice to accuse Leo XIII of having sacrificed Ireland to England. It is nevertheless beyond doubt that the Holy See considered eminently desirable an understanding with the great British Empire which everywhere, except in Ireland, shows herself well disposed towards her Catholic subjects.

It was then a great consolation for Leo XIII to see in the course of the year 1889 an English mission sent to the Vatican by the Queen of England. The head of this mission was Sir Lintorn Simmons; its object was the regulation of certain questions concerning the island of Malta. For the last two hundred years no official representative of England had been seen at the Roman court. Hence this mission met with some opposition in the English parliament. But the head of the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury, confirmed its opportuneness irrefutably. The principal question regulated in the negotiations was the establishment of the laws of the Council of Trent in Malta for marriages between Catholics and for mixed marriages.

Let us for a moment take our eyes off of public events to mention the death of Cardinal Joseph Pecci, who succumbed in 1890 to an attack of apoplexy. Gifted with rare talents, Joseph Pecci had made philosophy his life study. After having taught it, as we have said, at the Seminary of Perugia, he was appointed by Pius IX professor of Philosophy in the Roman University, where he succeeded the unhappy Father Passaglia. During the council of the Vatican he was a member of several philosophical and theological commissions intended to prepare the work to be brought before the meetings. After the taking of Rome the Abbé Pecci refused to take the oath of fealty demanded of the University professors by the new régime and was obliged in consequence to hand in his resig-

Group of the Pope's Coachmen and Servants of the Stables.

The Noble Guards, the Personal Staff of Leo XIII.

nation. He continued to give his philosophical lessons for eight years at the Institute for Higher Studies founded by Pius IX in place of the Roman University which had become an official institution.

In 1888, having been stricken by a first attack of apoplexy, he more and more withdrew from worldly affairs. In an excess of humility he had an immense number of manuscripts collected, the fruit of his long years of study, and ordered them to be put in the fire. Upon seeing the flame devour in a moment the result of so long labor, the Cardinal was troubled a moment, but he overcame the feeling speedily and resuming his cheerfulness, he rekindled the destroying flame with his own hands. When someone reproached him with having thus done an irreparable wrong to the study of Christian philosophy, he replied: "I have formed disciples who will set forth my ideas better than I." That was indeed the boast of Cardinal Pecci. He was the hidden head of an illustrious school, and at the same time the most respected adviser of Leo XIII in his action concerning philosophical studies. In this respect his influence will leave ineffaceable traces upon the Church. We may, however, regret the destruction of the Cardinal's manuscripts. They comprehended very important works, among others a critical history of the modern systems of philosophy.

Cardinal Joseph Pecci gently breathed his last on the 8th of February, 1890, after having in full consciousness received all the sacraments of the Holy Church.

His death was a sad blow for Leo XIII, who had always borne the most tender affection toward his brother Joseph. He expressed his sorrow in a touching elegy in Latin verse.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Encyclical LIBERTAS of the 20th of June, 1888, on Human Liberty—The Encyclical of the 10th of January, 1890, upon the Principal Duties of Christian Citizens.

NO WORD has fascinated our times more than this word Liberty, written by Leo XIII at the beginning of one of his most remarkable Encyclicals. Busied with the restless needs and aspirations of his age, the august Pontiff could not have failed to throw light upon a subject which has made the heart of the modern world beat so fast, and which has led it to such serious excesses. The Encyclical of the 20th of June, 1888, entitled *Libertas,* has put this lofty thought into execution.

The Pontifical document begins with establishing that liberty, the portion of the reasonable being, confers a sublime dignity upon his nature by rendering him master of his own acts. But the use of this prerogative may lead man to his supreme end by the practice of good, or to his voluntary ruin by the search after deceitful blessings which overturn legitimate order. JESUS CHRIST, by restoring the dignity of human nature, raised the will of man to a better state by the aid of grace and the promise of eternal life. The Church, the continuer of the work of JESUS CHRIST, has, like Him, deserved well of human liberty in the course of the ages. And yet, they accuse her of being its adversary. "The cause is to be found in the defective idea of what constitutes liberty."

Modern liberty, as far as it contains what is good, has always been approved by the Church. What is new constitutes in reality a corrupt element, the fruit of troubled times. Still there are those who would see in this "the greatest glory of our time and the necessary foundation of political constitutions." This is what has determined Leo XIII to treat entirely anew this question of liberty.

Before speaking of moral liberty, which is the faculty of acting lawfully, the Pontiff explains the nature of its essential foundation, which is natural liberty or the faculty of acting according to one's pleasure. Man, who has reason for a guide, conceives everything as contingent, that is to say as being able to exist or not being able. Whence arises for his will the faculty of choosing between goods of which none appears

to have to be necessarily embraced by him. If man is capable of judging as to the contingency of goods, it is because he has a plain and spiritual soul, and is in consequence capable of grasping in thought the immovable reasons for the good and the true. "To prove that the human soul is detached from all material element and gifted with the faculty of thinking, is to establish natural liberty upon its surest foundation." But no one more than the Church has preached these truths which she considers dogmas. No one better than she has defended liberty and combated fatalism against heretics, Manicheans, Jansenists, or others.

Leo XIII defines natural liberty as, "the faculty of choosing between means which lead to a definite end, the faculty which makes man master of his acts." Now a thing chosen as a means enters into the category of goods called useful, but the good, whatever it be, acts upon the power of the appetite, or to speak otherwise, upon the will. Free judgment, then, belongs to the will, or rather "it is the will itself in so far as in its acts it has the faculty of choosing." But the will cannot move except it be enlightened by the intelligence, and "in all volition, choice is always preceded by a judgment on the truth of the goods and upon the preference which we are to grant to one of them above the others." This judgment, like every other, is an act of the reason, not of the will. Liberty, residing in the will, has then for its object a good conforming to reason. If it comes to pass that because of the imperfection of the intelligence, the latter proposes a good to the will which is only apparent, this power of being mistaken and this effective error constitute not a perfection but a defect of the intelligence.

In the same way the will, attaching itself to a deceitful good, shows that if she possesses the free power of decision, she is capable of abusing it and that therein her liberty is defective, for the will, from the mere fact that she depends upon the reason, is not to desire an object which is removed from right reason. If the possibility of removing itself from good were of the essence of liberty, God, Jesus Christ, the angels, the blessed, in whom this power does not exist, either would be not free or less perfectly so than man in his state of trial and imperfection. Now it is the contrary which is true. The power of doing evil is, then, an imperfection of liberty.

After having shown the nature of liberty, Leo XIII examines the relations of law and liberty.

He ranks law among the aids given to liberty to direct its movements toward good and to turn them away from evil. "The rule as to what is and what is not to be done," the law does not concern the animal, who in everything acts under the impulse of nature and cannot act otherwise. The action of being free, on the contrary, is preceded by a judg-

ment upon what is good and evil in itself, good, and consequently to be realized, or evil, and consequently to be shunned; he has, therefore, the power of acting in such and such a way. What is to determine it is "reason, which prescribes for the will what it is to seek or what it is to shun, in order to attain to the supreme end in view of which man is to accomplish all his actions. This *ordination of the reason* is what we mean by law." It "also attracts man by the sanction of rewards and penalties, and thus turns him aside from sin." The foundation for the necessity of law lies, therefore, in the freedom of choice itself, that is to say, in the need which man has of not disagreeing with right reason.

The first of all laws is "natural law conforming to human reason and written in the heart of every man, the reason itself of man, ordering him to do well and forbidding him to sin." But this prescription is the instrument of a higher reason, to which our intelligence and our liberty ought to submit. "For the effect of law being to impose duties and to attribute rights, supposes an authority capable of establishing these duties and defining rights, capable also of sanctioning its orders by means of chastisements and recompenses, all of which, evidently, could not exist for man, if he gave to himself, as supreme legislator, the rule of his own actions. It follows therefore from this that natural law is nothing else than eternal law, graven in beings endowed with reason, and inclining them towards the act and end which suits them, and this latter law is itself only the eternal reason of God, the creator and governor of the universe."

The goodness of God has not left the man with freedom of choice to himself in the presence of the law which is to serve him as a rule; it has afforded him several aids. The first and principal one is divine grace, which enlightens the intelligence, strengthens the will, facilitates and seconds the exercise of our natural liberty.

After having spoken of liberty in the individual, Leo XIII considers it in the social body, and shows that human law is for society what reason and natural law are for individuals.

Among human laws there are some which, having for their object what is intrinsically good or bad, command the one, forbid the other and support these ordinances by a fitting sanction. Such laws do not derive their origin from human society, but are anterior to it and are to be connected with eternal law. The precepts of natural right comprised in human laws have, therefore, an authority superior to human law, and in this order of things, the part of the civil legislator is reduced to the assuring of common obedience and of turning the wicked away from evil by the fear of punishment, or at least of hindering them from doing harm to society.

If the other provisions of civil law do not proceed directly from natural law, they are nevertheless derived from it in an indirect manner. "They have for their object to state precisely certain points which natural law leaves undecided" by means of certain positive provisions. "Now, these particular rules of conduct, created by a foreseeing reason and given forth by a lawful power, constitute what is properly called human law."

The characteristic of human law is to effectively bring citizens to tend to the proper end of the community by doing good and fleeing from evil according to the wish of nature.

From the principles laid down Leo XIII deduces this masterly definition of civil liberty:

"Liberty consists in being able, thanks to the support of civil laws, to live according to the requirements of eternal law." It does not consist, therefore, in doing whatever we please, a license which, by disturbing the State, would be a source of disorders and would end in tyranny. As for those who have authority in their hands, liberty is not for them their good pleasure; on the contrary, they are bound to govern according to the eternal law whence all human law ought to be derived. "Every requirement of any power whatever which may disagree with the principles of right reason and with the interests of public good, would have no strength of law because it would not be a rule of justice and because it would remove men from the good for which society has been formed."

It is evident, in the next place, that all liberty, whether individual or civil, "supposes the necessity of obeying a supreme and eternal rule," which is the authority of God ordering and forbidding with supreme justice and thus protecting human liberty and leading it to perfection. "For the true perfection of all being is to pursue and attain to its end; now, the supreme end, towards which human liberty is to aspire, is God."

From all time the Church has taught these maxims and deserved well of liberty. We owe to it the moral reform of the human race, the suppression of slavery, the protection of the civil and political liberty of the nations. "The balance of right, as well as true fraternity between men, were first proclaimed by Jesus Christ." Following Him the apostles preached equality and fraternity in Christ for the Jew and the Gentile, for the Greek and the barbarian. No one can dispute the regenerating action of the Church in the civilization of savage peoples. As for the civilized nations she has not ceased to make them feel her beneficent influence in protecting the weak, in resisting

the arbitrariness of rulers, in endowing the people with institutions which rendered them prosperous within and feared without.

His teachings ennoble obedience by showing that the duty of submitting to just laws and of respecting power is derived, when traced to its source, from the high authority of God, from Whom all authority proceeds. "Hence, as soon as the right to command makes a mistake, or the command is contrary to reason, to eternal law, to the authority of God, it is lawful to disobey men, in order to obey God."

By thus closing the way to tyranny, the Church preserves the rights of citizens and of families by making true liberty reign, which permits all to live according to the laws and according to right reason.

If liberty is understood in this way, who would venture to accuse the Church of being its adversary? But there are men who understand by liberty absurd license. Their system, which borrows from liberty its name of Liberalism, is no other thing than rationalism and naturalism passing from the field of philosophy into that of civil and moral order, and laying down as a principle the sovereignty of human nature as well in the practice of life as in the knowledge of the truth. No more divine power for them which they are to obey; each man is a law unto himself. Hence it is no longer outside of man and above him that the principle of civil society must be sought, but in the free will of each man: "public power emanates from the multitude as its first source." Collective reason becomes for society what individual reason is in the eyes of the rationalist for the individual. Hence the power attributed to numbers, and "the majorities who alone create right and duty."

These doctrines of Liberalism are supremely unreasonable. What more contradictory than to suppress every bond between the creature and between society composed of creatures and God their creator, as if every effect did not depend upon its cause, as if the order of nature did not demand that everything keep its own place and find its perfection in the rank which belongs to it, the inferior being submitting itself to the superior.

These doctrines, moreover, are injurious to the individual and to society. They reduce the difference between good and evil to a question of opinion, without any foundation in reality. "What pleases will be allowed." Hence no more check to the passions and consequently to corruption. In public affairs, power detaches itself from the only true principle upon which it can rest. Law is abandoned to the caprices of majorities, and in the same way an opportunity is given for tyranny. The denial of the authority of God over the in-

dividual and society leads to the abolition of all public worship and to religious indifference. The multitude, intoxicated by the idea of its sovereignty, allows itself to be carried away by sedition. "The check of duty and of conscience no longer existing, there is naught else left but force, force which is ill able to restrain popular passions": the endless struggles against socialists and other subversive sects are the proof of it. Liberal doctrines, therefore, bring the overturning of all true liberty.

The fatal results of these principles terrify even their partisans. Many recognize that having arrived at such excesses, liberty degenerates into license.

They wish then that it be directed by right reason and subject to divine and eternal law. But "they do not admit that free man ought to submit to the laws which it might please God to impose upon us in any other way than by natural reason;" which is a contradiction on their part. For if, as they recognize, man, dependent upon God, and tending towards God, is to obey the divine Legislator, he can limit the legislative authority of God only by taking away from Him the obedience which is due Him. The laws of God, emanating from the Author of nature, moreover, harmonize perfectly with reason and perfect natural law. We recognize in them the mastery of God preserving our intelligence from error and guiding our will. Let us then leave united that which cannot be separated, and, in accordance with the precepts of natural reason itself, let us obey the laws of God.

There is another class of Liberals, less advanced, but just as inconsistent. In their opinion, "divine laws ought to regulate the private conduct of individuals, not their political action;" public power can be legislated without regard to the orders of God and the State ought to be separated from the Church.

Absurd statements, if we consider in the first place that society ought to assure to its members the means of living honestly, that is to say according to the laws of God, the beginning of all justice, and that consequently the State cannot be indifferent to these laws nor oppose them. "Those, therefore, who claim that in the government of peoples no account is to be taken of these laws, turn political authority away from its end and from the order prescribed by nature."

In this connection Leo XIII reminds us that he has already spoken elsewhere of the agreement of civil power with ecclesiastical power. In spite of the diversity of their aims and of their ways, "both exercise their authority upon the same subjects and frequently upon the same objects, although from different points of view." This situation ought not to give place to deplorable and absurd conflicts. It is neces-

sary, then, that there be some means of foreseeing these and of establishing harmony in some practical way. The harmony is comparable to the union of the soul with the body, a union advantageous for both, but especially for the body, which without it loses its life.

The Pope enters then into an examination of the different liberties which our times boast of having acquired. He condemns first religious liberty. "It rests upon this principle," he says, "that it is lawful for everyone to profess whatever religion he pleases or even to profess none at all;" while on the contrary, man has no greater duty than rendering worship to God, upon Whom he is absolutely dependent in his being and in all his operations. The virtue of religion is, besides, the necessary support of the other virtues, whose acts have for an end the leading us to the supreme good which is God; we must serve God, then, and in the form prescribed by Him, that is to say in the true religion, which His Providence has had to make recognizable by evident external signs.

From a social point of view, liberty of worship refuses the State the right to render to God any public worship, and thus to prefer one religion to another, even where the people are Catholic. This doctrine supposes civil community freed from all duty toward God, which is false. "It is God who has made man for society and who has put him with his fellowmen, in order that he might find in association the goods which his nature demands, and that his individual efforts could not secure for him. Hence civil society, as much as society, must recognize God as its beginning and author, and consequently render Him the homage of its worship. If it bases itself upon atheism or, what amounts to the same thing, if, indifferent to all religions, gives them the same rights, it outrages reason and justice. Since the State ought to have a religion, it ought to profess that which is alone true and which in Catholic countries is especially recognizable. It must protect and preserve it because if its immediate end is to assure the citizens of earthly prosperity, it has at the same time the duty not of checking but on the contrary of facilitating the acquisition of the supreme good."

Nothing, moreover, is more prejudicial to the true liberty of the governing and the governed than this freedom of religion.

The Catholic religion, on the contrary, favors the liberty of the subjects by preserving them from tyranny, and that of the sovereigns by preserving them from revolutions which end, finally, in the strongest restrictions upon liberty, without speaking of the services rendered by religion to morality, and by morality to liberty itself.

The liberty of the press and liberty of speech are not rights as soon as they cease to be properly controlled. Right, a moral faculty, can-

not belong indifferently to good and evil, to truth and to falsehood. If it is lawful to propagate "the true, the good, with prudent liberty, in order that a greater number may profit by it, it is no less right that public authority may hinder the diffusion of doctrines which lead astray the mind or corrupt the heart, in order to prevent the evil from spreading for the ruin of society."

The wrong use of intelligence constitutes a real oppression for the multitude and ought to be repressed upon the same grounds as the abuse of force against the weak, the people being incapable of protecting itself against the sophistry of those who appeal to its passions. With the unbounded liberty of speaking and writing, everything is shaken, even the most fundamental truths. All what license gains, liberty loses. Hence the repression of error is the safeguard of liberty.

We must say as much concerning liberty of instruction. The truth, the end of intelligence, alone has the right to enter minds. Hence true things alone should be taught, and the public power cannot without criminal neglect of its duty accord the permission to teach error.

As for the truths which alone can be the objects of instruction, they are of two kinds: natural and supernatural. The first are the basis upon which rest morality, religion, justice, society in its entirety. It would be impious and mad to allow them to be attacked with impunity. We must preserve with no less care the treasure of supernatural truths, revealed by God, and entrusted to the keeping of His Church, who, the infallible mistress of the faith and of morality, "carries in herself an inviolable right to liberty of instruction." Reason shows that between natural truths and supernatural truths there can exist no real opposition. What contradicts the latter must be necessarily false. It follows as a result that the mastery of the Church cannot hinder the development of the sciences, nor the laws carried to defend revealed truth injure true liberty, according to the word of St. John: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

"Moreover, an immense field remains open, in which human activity may give itself full sway and genius exercise itself freely," to know the field of truth which has no necessary connection with the Faith and Christian morality, or upon which the Church has not pronounced.

Besides, the liberty which the Liberals claim consists in attributing to the State and of arrogating to themselves the right of professing the most monstrous opinions, in addition to restraining the liberty of the Church in its teaching, which is nevertheless so advantageous to all.

The considerations which precede pass justice upon liberty of conscience, if we understand it in the sense that man has the right not to be checked in the performance of his duties towards God. That is a

real liberty, superior to every violence and one which the Church has always vindicated, following the example of the apostles and martyrs. But the favorers of Liberalism who regard the State as an absolute Master qualify it as seditious. If they were in the right, there would be no tyranny, however monstrous it might be, to which man ought not to yield. No, this liberty has nothing in common with the spirit of revolt; it respects human authority; but when this prescribes what is manifestly contrary to the will of God, it oversteps its right to command, and it is right not to obey it.

The application of Christian principles would alone be capable of curing the evils due in large measure to these liberties which they boast as the sources of prosperity and glory, and which have produced only poisoned fruits. Hence the Church, while granting rights only to what is true and honest, is not opposed to the toleration which public power believes itself able to use with regard to certain things contrary to truth and justice in view of a greater evil to be avoided or of a greater good to be obtained or to be preserved. But if, in such junctures, the law of men can tolerate evil for weighty motives, yet it cannot nor ought it ever to approve of it, or wish it in itself; for, being of itself the absence of good, evil is opposed to the common good which the legislator ought to desire and ought to defend as well as he can. (St. Th., p. i, 9, xix.) This necessity of tolerating evil is in itself the indication of a bad situation; and if toleration, whose sole reason for existence is the common good, happened to become injurious, it would cease to be lawful. Upon this supposition the Church would cease to admit it and would endeavor, according to its duty, by counsel, exhortation, entreaty, to fulfill the mission with which God has entrusted her. In every case one thing remains always true; that is that this liberty of all and for all things is not desirable in itself because it is repugnant to reason that the false enjoy the same rights as the true.

However, the noisiest praisers of toleration are not troubled about being intolerant with regard to Catholicism, and, lavish of liberty for all, they generally cannot be resigned to leaving the Church hers.

The Pope concludes his Encyclical with a summary of the doctrine which is contained in it, and specifies thus the different gradations of Liberalism:

The worst kind of Liberalism consists in refusing all obedience to God in public and in private life.

In the second place comes the system of those who submit themselves to natural law, but repudiate all revealed law, at least in the social order, and wish the separation of the Church and the State; a perni-

cious error, for the two powers, although they have not the same end nor the same dignity, are made to help one another.

This maxim develops in two ways: Some wish that in the government of the people affairs should be carried on as if the Church did not exist, religion being relegated among purely private matters. Others refuse the Church the rights inherent in a perfect state of society, leaving it only the right of exhortation and of persuasion with regard to its members, without any legislative, judicial, or coercive authority; they denaturalize thus the character of the Church and subject it to the State in the same way as any other free society. Finally there are men who, without approving of the separation of the Church and State, think that the Church ought to come to an agreement with the wisdom of the day in the government of society. They are right, if they speak of agreement compatible with truth and justice; but entirely otherwise if it is a matter of practices and teachings which weaken morality and the current errors which have been introduced contrary to all right; they cannot ask the Church, the guardian of the essential truths of religion necessary for all time, to lend herself to measures injurious to Religion, and to be silent concerning error and injustice.

"It follows from what precedes that it is in nowise permitted to demand, defend, or grant liberty of thought, of the press, of teaching, and of religion, as well as many other rights which man may be supposed to have by nature. . . . However, such liberties may be tolerated for just causes on condition that they do not degenerate into license. And in those places where custom has rendered these liberties flourishing, citizens ought to make use of them to do good, while judging them as the Church judges them.

"When it is found or when there is a likelihood of its being found that there is a tyrannical rule which oppresses the nation or enchains the Church, it is lawful to seek a political organization under which it may be possible to act with liberty." In this case, what one pursues is not an unchecked liberty, but the betterment of a bad situation for the profit of all, in order that the good may not alone be excluded from the liberty left to evil.

"In the same way it is not forbidden to prefer for the State constitutions which form part of the democratic element, on condition, however, that the Catholic doctrine as to the origin and exercise of power is observed. The Church finds fault with no form of government from the moment that it is fitted to procure the good of the nation, but she wishes, and nature agrees with her in demanding, that its establishment shall violate the rights of no one and shall respect those of the Church."

Except under special circumstances it is praiseworthy to take part in public affairs, and the Church wishes citizens to devote themselves to the general good each according to his power. "Nor does the Church blame the wish to free one's country from all foreign or despotic rule, provided that this may be done without violating justice."

The Pope in closing asks God to grant men the light of His counsel "that in such important matters they may know the truth and conform to it with unshaken constancy their private conduct and their public life."

We think that we ought to put beside the Encyclical upon liberty that which Leo XIII addressed, on the 10th of January, 1890, to the Bishops of the Catholic world, upon the principal duties of Christians and which begins with these words, *Sapientiae Christianae*. It completes the Encyclical upon liberty and forms with it a collection of doctrines of the greatest importance for the faithful.

Before entering upon the subject matter, Leo XIII gives himself up to lofty thoughts upon the precepts of Christian wisdom and the necessity of conforming to them the life, the morals and the institutions of the people.

We have made great progress in the material order, but visible nature, with all the riches and forces that it contains, even if it can make life easier, is incapable of satisfying the soul which is made for greater things. The supreme truth, God alone can satisfy the intelligence created for the truth.

"This ought to be understood of domestic and civil society as well as of the individual." Society is constituted to furnish man with means for attaining to perfection, and not that man should put his aim in society. Hence a State which had in view only civilization and wealth, without regard to God and to moral law, would depart entirely from its natural mission.

Unhappily, spiritual goods, of which true religion has the keeping, are becoming daily obliterated in the forgetfulness and distaste of men. It seems as though the things of the soul are decreasing in proportion as the goods of the body advance. The too frequent insults given to the Christian name are an evidence of a great weakening of the faith; "a religious age would never have tolerated them." Hence the danger of eternal ruin for a great number, but also the danger of ruin for the States which see themselves crumbling along with Christian institutions and morals, the firmest foundations of human society. To maintain order there is left nothing but force, very weak in religion, and which, more fit to produce servitude than obedience, bears in itself the germ of greater troubles. "This age has seen cruel events, and it is not cer-

tain that it will not see more of their kind." It is time then to seek the remedy where it may be found, that is to say, "to restore in private and in public life the Christian manner of thinking and acting." This is why the Holy Father proposes to set forth in detail the duties of Catholics.

Submissive to the Church as children to their mother, and members of a holy society which the Roman Pontiff governs under his invisible chief JESUS CHRIST, Catholics are constrained to greater duties than infidels and non-Catholics.

If nature obliges us to love and defend to the death society to which we belong by birth, the same obligation exists most certainly for Christians with regard to the Church, the city of the living God, founded by Him and for Him. "We must love our fatherland, which has given us mortal life, but the Church still more, to whom we owe a life which will last forever." The goods of the soul are indeed more precious than those of the body, duties toward God more sacred than duties toward men. However, both forms proceed from one and the same principle, which is God, and there is no contradiction between the duties which He imposes upon us.

There may, however, be met cases in which the hierarchy of duties finds itself reversed. Sometimes society seems to demand one thing of the citizen, and religion to impose another upon the Christian. This takes place when the State despises the power of the Church, or pretends to subject it to itself. Then a conflict arises which is not without peril. But in the presence of two powers ordering contrary things, no one is to infringe the law of JESUS CHRIST to obey the magistrates. To sacrifice the rights of the Church under the pretext of preserving a civil right would be a crime. Following the example of St. Peter and the apostles, *We must obey God rather than men.* (Acts v, 29.) "It would be wrong to designate this manner of acting as contrary to law." The Pontiff again recalls that "law is nothing else than an order of right reason given forth for the common good by a legitimate power."

"He who in these cases refuses to obey, does not reject on that account the authority of princes and the laws; he only removes himself from their will where they have no power to command, since these orders, "contrary to the law of God, lack in that very way justice and are all that one would wish to have removed from the laws."

The whole life of the Christian resides in the knowledge of the truth, which perfects his intelligence, and in the love of the sovereign good which perfects his heart, truth and love brought to earth by JESUS CHRIST and guarded by the Church as its precious patrimony. But the Church is violently combated in our days. The discoveries of science

have puffed up men to such an extent that they wish to do without God; transferring to human nature the power snatched from God, they claim to find all truth in it. They reject Revelation, Christian morality, the authority of the Church and its rights; they banish it from public institutions. They seek to get possession of the government to turn people in this direction. Hence the open or concealed attacks against the name of Catholic, the oppression of religion, the license given to all error.

In the midst of this disorder, each one should watch over the preservation of his belief. For this purpose Leo XIII recommends especially prayer and the study of religion in things which do not pass out of the reach of our reason.

They should, besides, particularly occupy themselves with the defense of the Faith. That is doubtless the part of the teaching Church. "But when necessity obliges, each one ought to manifest his faith either for the instruction or strengthening of the other faithful, or to repress the insults of the infidels." (St. Thomas.) Silence in such a case would be doubt or baseness, and would be profitable only to the enemies of the faith, for the cowardice of the good increases the boldness of the wicked. With a little work the refutation of the sophistry of incredulity is always possible; it is even of ordinary ease. The mere courage of Christians suffices, moreover, to disconcert their adversaries. Let them not forget, then, that they are born for struggle and that God will reward the valiant according to their efforts.

If it is necessary in the first place to defend openly and constantly the Catholic faith, it is necessary also to propagate it according to one's ability. "What is most lacking to Christian truth is being known. When well understood, it has by itself the power of dissipating all obscurity, and for an upright mind, to know it is to embrace it." Faith doubtless is a gift of God, but the things which she teaches are hardly communicable except by speech. Hence the necessity of preaching the truth. This mission belongs especially to the Bishops and to the Pope. "Nevertheless it must not be thought that individuals may not contribute in some way, those especially to whom God has given the faculties of mind with the zeal for doing good." Every time that the circumstance demands it, these, without posing as doctors, may communicate to others what they have received themselves, and echo, so to speak, the voice of the masters. The Council of the Vatican does not fear to solicit expressly this kind of co-operation on the part of the faithful, who, moreover, have the duty of preaching the faith by example and by the open profession of religion.

Christians would not be able to defend and propagate the faith effectively if they fought singly; the work of Christ, as Christ Himself and according to His prediction, is to be hated by the world. That was why Our Lord wished to unite His disciples into a society of which He is the head. It is this life of Christ which penetrates this body and each of its members and binds them together for the same end, although in a multiple activity. That is why the Church, a society perfect and superior to all other, is as an army drawn up for battle against the enemy of salvation. This organization cannot be changed; he who withdraws from it to live or to fight according to his fashion is not for Christ and the Church, but against them.

In order to realize the union so terrible to the enemies of the Christian name, unity of thought is necessary. "Intelligence is in fact the principle of action; hence wills cannot unite, nor can actions agree, if the minds are not in accord." Reason alone cannot establish unity in intelligences and wills which so many different opinions and passions seduce. Hence governments have recourse to force to make harmony reign where minds are divided. It is not the same with Christians who, under the authority of the Church, have the certainty of the truth. The Church, one with Christ, maintains throughout the Christian world a united doctrine and consequently one will only and one action.

But according to St. Paul this unity is to be perfect. The Christian faith rests on divine authority, not on the rational and intrinsic knowledge of truths. We are to admit, then, with the same assent all things revealed by God. To reject one only is to repudiate all the others, for it is to overturn the very foundation of the faith, belief in divine revelation or in the veracity of God. The teaching Church, the guardian and interpreter of divine revelation, has for its supreme doctor the Roman Pontiff. "Agreement of minds demands, then, upon the same footing as a perfect consent in faith, a perfect submission and obedience of the will to the Roman Pontiff as to God. This obedience is to be perfect, because it is ordered by faith, and has this in common with faith, that it is indivisible," under penalty of being merely a vain image of obedience. Hence it has always been considered as the characteristic of true Catholics.

Obedience to the pastors of the Church, and especially to the Pope, is not confined to the dogmas which one cannot reject without heresy, nor to the things which, although not defined, are presented by the ordinary and universal mastership of the Church, and which the Council of the Vatican declares are to be believed to be of Catholic and divine faith. Christians ought, moreover, to allow themselves to be controlled and governed by the Bishops and the Holy See. Nothing, moreover,

is more reasonable. Revelation contains things which concern God and man. Both are by divine right under the guard of the Church and of the Pope, who prescribes both what is necessary to believe and what necessary to do. "This is why the Pontiff is to declare with authority what the divine oracles contain, and what are the doctrines which are in agreement or in disagreement with them; he ought by virtue of the same power to know what is good and what is not, what must be done and what shunned to attain salvation, without which he would be neither a sure interpreter of the word of God, nor a safe guide to direct man in life."

A more intimate consideration of the nature of the Church leads to the same conclusion. The Church is not any chance meeting of Christians, but a society divinely constituted to lead souls to peace and holiness. God has, in consequence, provided it with all that is necessary for this end, which it attains by means of His laws, His ordinances, and by governing, in a manner conforming to His nature and in the midst of many difficulties, the Christian peoples spread throughout the whole world, differing in morals and race, and subject at the same time to civil power and religious authority. The Pontiff is thus led to speak again of the nature and relations of two powers which lawfully prescribe different duties, although not contradictory ones, aiming, the one at the prosperity of civil society, the others at the common good of the Church.

"This division of rights and duties shows that those governing are free to control what concerns them, and this, not only without opposition on the part of the Church, but with its manifest assistance, for by prescribing the observance of piety which is justice towards God, it invites them by the same thing to practice justice towards princes." Religious power, founded for the government of souls, is more noble than civil, and faith teaches that this government belongs in such a way to the Church that the civil power has nothing to do with it. "In short, it was not to Caesar, but to Peter, that Jesus Christ entrusted the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."

Leo XIII next enters into some questions connected with these doctrines, and which are of the highest importance. "Guardian of its own right, respectful to that of others, the Church does not think that it is for her to concern herself with the form of government which may be preferred, or with the institutions which control the civil interests of Christian nations; it reproves none of the different forms of government, provided that religion and the conduct of morals be safe. It is fitting that the actions of each individual Christian be regulated according to this example." There is doubtless an honest kind of po-

Leo XIII at the Solemnity of Reopening of the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.

Saloon in the Pontifical Apartments, where Private Audiences are held.

Some of the Private Attendants of Leo XIII.

The Private Chapel of Leo XIII in the Vatican Summer House.

litical discussion having for an end the search after the common good. "But to attract the Church to one party or to wish her absolutely as an auxiliary to overcome those against whom conflict is being waged is to abuse religion."

On the contrary, religion should be sacred to all. "As soon as the name of Christian is seen to be threatened by the action of its adversaries, all division must cease and in concord of mind and will religion must be defended as the greatest common good to which all others are to be traced back."

"The Church and the State have each their sovereignty in limits determined by the nearest cause of both, and this is why they do not obey one another in the regulation of their own affairs. However, nature gives us not only being but morality. This is why man demands that public order permit him not only to be happy, but to be able to perfect his morals by the exercise of virtue, that is to say, to ask the Church for the aid suitable for him to attain his end. The laws ought, then, to take account of this moral and religious nature of man and not to forbid or order that which may be in opposition to the end of civil and religious society. This is why the Church cannot become disinterested in civil legislation, not inasmuch as it concerns the State, but inasmuch as it threatens sometimes the right of the Church. The latter has received from God the mission of resisting these encroachments, and of making the spirit of the Gospel prevail in laws and institutions. She cannot lend her support, therefore, and her favor to the heads of State who attack her and despise her rights. She favors, on the contrary, those who are of the opposite disposition. These principles are to regulate the public action of Catholics. In any case they ought to support men who are just and devoted to the Church, and "it can never be right to prefer to them those who are ill disposed towards religion."

Harmony is then imposed upon Catholics, especially in our so difficult times; and to realize this harmony there must be attachment to the Church. If this necessity had been better understood, the boldness of enemies would not have piled up so many ruins. "May the recollection of the past have at least the advantage of giving more wisdom for the future!"

Leo XIII puts the militant Catholics on their guard against two dangers: false prudence and rashness. There are some who advise against resisting iniquity in order not to exasperate hostile spirits. "We do not know whether they are for or against the Church." They profess, they say, the Catholic doctrine, but they would like the Church to propagate doctrines that are opposed to her. They bewail the decay of faith and of morals, "but they do not think of remedying them;

they even increase the evil by their excessive indulgence or by a pernicious dissimulation. They wish that no one distrust their devotion to the Holy See; but they have always some reproach to make to the Pontiff." Nothing is less fitted to combat evil than this *mortal prudence of the flesh.* (Rom. viii, 6-7.) The soldiers of Christ who wish to triumph "in the easiest manner, and without wounds, prepare the way for the wicked rather than cut them off."

Another class of persons, animated by false zeal or by feigned zeal, wish everything in the Church to be regulated according to their judgment. If there is a separation from it they are displeased. "To do thus is not to follow legitimate authority, it is to anticipate it; it is to attribute to individuals the functions of magistrates, by an overturning of the order which God has wished to be perpetually observed in the Church, and which He does not permit anyone to violate with impunity."

The best way of acting is not to refuse the combat in the certainty that the victory will remain with right and religion. To defend religion against anti-Catholic sectarianism, which does not cease to persecute the Pontiff given over to its sway, this is to do an act of great courage. But obedience must be preserved and nothing done without it. As the safeguard of this obedience and of the courage necessary for all Christians, our hearts ought to become permeated with the *prudence of the spirit* (Rom. viii, 6), which makes us shun in our actions timid and base discouragement on the one hand, and too confident rashness on the other.

The prudence of political leaders who have as their aim the common good is one thing, that of individuals who have for their aim private good is another. As for the political prudence of individuals, it seems to consist entirely in observing well the ordinances of legitimate power. This disposition and this order are to be the more observed in a Christian republic as the political foresight of the Pontiff extends to good ends; it is to him, in short, that it belongs not only to rule the Church, but to regulate the actions of Christians in general, in such a way that they may be in perfect agreement with the hope of eternal salvation. "The administration of the Church belongs also to the Bishops, lower than the Pontiff, but true princes in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and who, placed at the head of their churches and assisted by their clergy, are as the principal workmen in the spiritual edifice. Such is the necessary constitution of the Church to which our life must conform. And the union of the laity and priests with their bishops is as necessary as that of these latter with the Pope. Doubtless it may come to pass that there may be something to blame in the conduct or in the opin-

ions of a bishop, but no one is to arrogate to himself the right to judge, which belongs to the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST alone."

However, all the efforts of Christians will avail little if their life is not formed according to the Christian virtues. The Church doubtless cannot be abandoned by God, and she has nothing to fear from the crimes of men. But it is not the same with nations, to whom sin brings misfortune. The past proves it; why might the present not profit by the experience? Leo XIII perceives already the chastisement which threatens the nations, disorganized and eaten away by internal evils. This chastisement cannot be removed by the aid of man alone; it falls especially to the great number of those who have abandoned the Christian faith and are punished for their pride by a total blindness concerning good and evil. The intervention of the mercy of God is necessary, and this mercy will be obtained by humble prayers and by the exercise of the Christian virtues, especially of charity, the foundation of all others and the bond which unites man to God and makes him draw his life from God. To love toward God is to be added love toward man, the image of God. Christ, one in love with the Father, by nature, wished that His disciples should be one in Him, by grace, in this same love. The impious redouble in hatred against the name of Christ. Christians are to redouble in piety and charity, the source of great actions. "Let the dissensions which may exist cease; let the disputes which divide strength and in no wise profit religion be quieted and let life be passed, as it is fitting, in love of God and of men, by the union of minds in faith and of wills in love."

Leo XIII finally addresses grave advice to the parents of families concerning the education of their children. "The family," he says, "comprises the beginnings of the State, and the fortune of the citizens is contained in great measure within the walls of the home." This is why those who are aiming at the destruction of society attack the family first, and violate the innate right of parents of bringing up their children for God who has given them to them. This right Catholics ought to vindicate energetically, especially in the presence of schools dangerous to the faith. The Holy Father praises the generosity of the faithful, who in different countries have raised Catholic schools at great expense, and he invites them everywhere to imitate this example. "Let them be persuaded, however, before all things that the home education is the most powerful over the souls of the children."

The Sovereign Pontiff closes with exhorting the Bishops to spread these doctrines everywhere and to revive the courage of the faithful. No labor is too great to arrive at so eminent a good. "Moreover, to be unwilling to fight for Christ is to attack Him, and He has declared that

He will deny before His Father in Heaven all those who may have refused to confess Him before men upon earth." (Luc., ix, 26.)

The Encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae* brings forth into the full light of day the principles which regulate the policy of Leo XIII in the different countries of the world, and with which the counsels are inspired that he gives to the Catholics of all nations,—adjusting them to their individual necessities. For this reason it claims here, like the Encyclical *Libertas,* a detailed analysis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Church and the Slave Trade—Leo XIII and Cardinal Lavigerie—Encyclical upon Slavery to the Bishops of Brazil—Reception of Cardinal Lavigerie and the Pilgrims of Africa—Letter of Mwanga, King of Ouganda—Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal Lavigerie (July 17, 1890)—Encyclical of November 20, 1890—Victorious Struggle against the Slave Trade in Central Africa.

N OUR day, and especially during the Pontificate of Leo XIII, all the enemies who at any period in history have directed their assaults against her, seem to have united against the Church. Islamism itself, that ancient enemy of the Christian name, whose power appeared forever checked, has resumed, as it did in the Middle Ages, its effort to spread its dominion by the sword. It is in the heart of Africa that the Cross and the Crescent to-day confront one another. The liberty, the life, the soul of the black races are at stake. For the pioneers of Islamism, the Arab slave-traders, are imposing the Koran and chains upon the unhappy victims of their cupidity and fanaticism with arms and the lash.

In a conference held in the Church of the Jesu in Rome, Cardinal Lavigerie called the attention of Europe to the danger with which the renascence of Mahometanism, especially that in the Soudan, is threatening her, in the following language:

" There," he said, " for an hundred years, a social and religious transformation has been taking place to which Europe has shut her eyes, but which will, nevertheless, soon menace the very coast of the Mediterranean: I refer to the invasion of Mahometanism and to the preparation of fierce multitudes for the incursions of the future. The granary of ancient Asia, which, fifteen centuries ago, fed the Huns, Vandals and all manner of barbarians, the invading horde that trampled everything, your Rome itself, under foot, will no longer stand alone in history. If you await the perfection of the work that has been begun, you will behold another cataclysm not less terrible in Africa.—Mysterious phenomenon! While in Europe and in Asia Mahometanism seems preparing for its last sleep, upon our African continent it is renewing the vigor of its blood. . . . I warn you of a danger that is nearer at hand than Europe dreams. Trust an old pilot who knows the shoals and the tempests of barbarism."

Leo XIII has had his eyes fixed upon Africa for a long time. Like the great Popes of former days, he desires to unite against barbarism the divided forces of Europe and the world; to arouse their pity for the unhappy blacks, and to urge them to withstand the slave trading hordes, now brandishing torch and sword upon the soil of Africa, where the Islamitish Orient and the Occident which still calls itself Christian will soon cross arms in a supreme conflict. The task of the Sovereign Pontiff is difficult. The civilized powers, in losing the spirit of Christianity, have lost their bond of unity, and in the presence of a scourge that is depopulating an entire continent, they too often parade their own rivalry and cupidity instead of co-operating for the suppression of the slave trade.

Cardinal Lavigerie was the Peter the Hermit of the crusade against the slave trade, and whatever has been done for the protection of civilization in Africa and for the welfare of the blacks, is due to him. We need not recall the admirable and persistent efforts of this apostle. Suffice it to say that it was in Leo XIII that he sought inspiration and strength. "We intrusted you," the Pontiff wrote him, "on the 17th of October, 1888, with a great and arduous work: courageously to do all in your power to oppose the enslaving of so many unhappy people upon the soil of Africa. You have undertaken this work, in which the salvation of men is at stake, with a zeal which evinces your nobility of soul." In this same letter Leo XIII expresses his confidence in the promises of the sovereigns, who, in the Congress of Berlin (1888), pledged themselves to oppose the slave trade. At the same time he appropriates $60,000 of the gifts received by him on the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee to the work of suppressing the slave trade, "it being impossible," he says, "for anything to be more agreeable to Us than to succor men so inhumanly dealt with." History will not separate the names of Cardinal Lavigerie and Leo XIII. Both are giving to the campaign against the slave trade its fitting character of a Catholic work.

In his letter to the antislavery committees, dated July 22, 1890, the glorious primate of Africa himself said: "I only obeyed; it is to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to the Church, whose prince and guide he is, that all honor is due for this campaign, which his enemies are denying him. But it is in vain, as I have already said, that they would shake this opinion. Facts, dates, the Encyclical, sermons are there to protest against so audacious an usurpation."

The Encyclical referred to in this passage is the letter *In Plurimis,* addressed to the Bishops of Brazil on May 8, 1888, and which constitutes an important act in the secular struggle of the Popes against slavery. After expressing his joy at the numerous liberations of slaves, effected in Brazil upon the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee, and discov-

ering in these liberations a mark of the desire of the Brazilians and their sovereigns "completely to extirpate and destroy the horrors of servitude," Leo XIII recalls the following beautiful words of Gregory the Great: "Since, in His mercy for every creature, our Redeemer deigned to take upon Himself the nature of man, in order to restore to us our original liberty, by breaking, through His grace, the bond which held us captive, it is a blessed thing to restore to liberty, through the boon of enfranchisement, men whom nature made free in principle and whom the laws of men have subjected to the yoke of servitude." (Lib. VI, ep. 12.)

Among the miseries resultant from the original sin, "slavery, in which a great part of humanity has remained for centuries," is one of the most deplorable. Man was destined by God to rule the animals, not his fellowman. But after the fall, man, renouncing common goodwill and respect, began to consider his fellowman as an animal born for the yoke. "It came about that, without regard for community of nature, the worth of man, or the divine likeness, those who in the course of time were victorious in war reduced their enemies to servitude; so that the human race was divided into two parts: *conquered slaves* in the power of *victorious masters.*" After this vigorous description of slavery and its origin, Leo XIII shows how this scourge prevailed and spread among the ancient peoples, even the most highly civilized, reducing to the condition of chattels, slaves deprived of all rights, even the right to live. "Masters might exchange, sell, bequeath, beat, kill their slaves; this they might do with impunity and in the open light of day." Pagan philosophers and jurists attempted to convince themselves that slavery was a necessity; they saw in the slave a being materially and morally inferior to the freeman, an instrument, blind and without a conscience, entirely subject to the will of the master. How monstrous is the inhumanity and iniquity which tends to legitimize the most barbarous oppression! . . . The Pope then draws a striking picture of the crimes and the evils which issue from such a state of things; hatred in the heart of the slave, suspicion and fear in the master, everywhere revolt, torture, strategy and massacre.

Finally in the midst of this gulf of abjection there shines a "wondrous light of Heaven, and the grace of the Redeemer profusely sheds itself upon the entire human race. By it slaves were snatched from servitude and all men were called and led from the terrible bondage of sin to the sublime dignity of children of God." The Apostles preach the blessed equality of the baptized, and St. Paul ceases not to remind Christians that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in

Christ Jesus." (Gal. iii, 27, 28.) These doctrines, like divine seed, "will grow and flourish for the public good, when, through the persevering action of the Church, civilized society shall have been renewed and formed in the likeness of a Christian and free family."

Leo XIII describes the Church's method of procedure in this work of civilization. First, the Church called the attention of Christians to the communion of man with man, of nation with nation which exists in Christ, the new Adam, and which gives to all, not only a common origin, but a common supernatural origin and end, through divine adoption, redemption, grace, sacrament and salvation. Resting upon this foundation, the Church sought to mollify the condition of bondage by defining, in accordance with apostolic doctrine, the rights and the duties of masters and of slaves. To the slaves she recommended submission, even to harsh masters, submission made easy by the hope of the heavenly reward due for a good action of slave as well as of master, and ennobled by its motive, which was no longer fear or self interest, but the consciousness of duty in the presence of an authority which, like all power, is derived from God. Masters were reminded on their part of their obligations to treat their slaves with gentleness, knowing, as St. Paul says, that the true Master of all is in Heaven and that there is no respect of persons with Him. (Eph. vi, 9.) The slave, the Lord's freeman, should not deplore his lot; the master, Christ's servant, should not be puffed up or command with harshness (I Cor. vii, 22), but should honor in the slave the worth of the man, and the supernatural worth which makes him an equal before God. The recommendations of St. Paul to Philemon in behalf of his escaped slave, Onesimus, show how he understood the application of these doctrines, which are so favorable to good order in domestic society. "Receive him," he writes, "that is mine own bowels, not as a slave, but as a brother beloved both in the flesh and in the Lord. If he hath wronged, or oweth thee aught, put that on my account." (Philemon xii, 18.)

Thus the pagan treatment of slaves was as cruel and as culpable as the Christian was clement and just. The honor for the change is due the Church; nevertheless, "she did not wish to proceed to the liberation of the slaves with such haste as would have been prejudicial both to the slaves themselves and to the state." Her efforts were at first directed to form the minds of the slaves to Christian customs, and to turn them from the spirit of sedition. To console them for the miseries of their earthly condition, by her divine might and grace she turned their eyes to heaven and lifted up their souls to a superhuman nobility. The slaves were patient and submissive, and obedient in everything that was not contrary to the law of God. If that which God forbids was demanded

Leo XIII Addressing His Family and a Small Congregation on St. Francis of Assisi.

Pope Leo XIII. attended by Mgr. Della Volpe Meggiordnorne, Mgr. Merry Del Val, and His Nephew, Conti Pecci, Officer of the Noble Guard.

of them, they endured the most cruel torment with serenity; neither were they ever justly accused of conspiracy or sedition.

When peace was granted the Church, her doctors, without disputing the right of the masters to the service of their slaves, energetically opposed the acts of cruelty which the pagans considered legitimate. So that St. John Chrysostom was able to affirm that slavery, in the old sense of the word, no longer existed in his time. Among the Latins, St. Ambrose is distinguished for the precision with which he establishes the demands of Christian law upon masters and slaves. Practice followed his precepts. "For us Christians," says Lactantius, "slaves are not slaves; we call them brothers in the spirit, and we treat them as such and as servants of God on an equal footing with ourselves." (Divin. Instit., IV, c. 16.)

The Church sought every opportunity to bring about the emancipation of slaves and her exhortations were heeded; St. Jerome testifies to this fact. According to Salvien, many families, even among the less prosperous, proceeded to the liberation of their slaves. In their wills, Christians delighted, pursuant to the counsel of the Church, to prescribe to their heirs the liberation of their slaves as a meritorious act and one which they desired to have performed "for the love of God, and the weal or pity of their souls." A host of saintly personages, in the train of St. Ambrose, St. Hilarius, St. Eloi, sold the consecrated vases and the treasures of churches in order with them to effect the ransom of slaves. The Popes have never lost sight of this part of the flock that has been entrusted to them. St. Gregory the Great declared free those slaves who wished to embrace the religious life. Adrian I claimed for them freedom of marriage. Innocent III founded the Order of the Most Blessed Trinity for the liberation of captives fallen into the hands of the Turks. Honorius III and Gregory IX approved the Order of Mercy, created for the same purpose by Pierre Nolasque, and whose members are bound, if necessary, to surrender themselves to ransom the captives. Gregory IX forbade the exchange of the serfs belonging to churches, and exhorted Christians to free their slaves in expiation of their sins. Long would be the enumeration of the acts of the Church in behalf of slaves. She has protected them against the ill usage of their masters by the infliction of severe punishment, and she has opened her sanctuaries as inviolable asylums to the victims of inhuman masters. She has taken the emancipated under her protection, and she has forbidden the fraudulent subjection of freemen to bondage. She has encouraged the liberation of serfs belonging to the Church by instructing her bishops to free those who, during a certain period, distinguished themselves for good conduct. To the Church are also owing

the mollifications in the civil laws, notably the measure proposed by St. Gregory the Great, and the dispositions made pursuant to them by Charlemagne. "In a word, monuments, laws, institutions magnificently attest across the ages to the supreme charity of the Church toward the slaves whose unhappy condition she always ameliorated so far as lay within her power."

At the end of the fifteenth century slavery, then almost extinguished among Christian nations, threatened to revive and to spread through the activity of Europeans in the newly discovered lands in Africa, Asia and America. In order to conquer an ungrateful soil and to exploit mines which demanded robust workmen, "they resorted to means which were absolutely unjust and inhuman. The commerce in slaves taken from Ethiopia dates from that time, a commerce which, under the name of the slave trade, spread with prodigious rapidity throughout the new colonies." The natives, who were universally called Indians, were the victims of an analogous oppression. When informed of these horrors, Pius II condemned them in his letter of October 7, 1462, and Leo X soon afterwards insisted upon their complete termination at the hands of the kings of Portugal and Spain. But greed prevailed, and Paul III was consequently led to declare to the world, in a solemn decree, the three rights which must be recognized as appertaining to every man: the right to his own body, the right to live in society under the protection of the law, and the right to acquire and hold property. Urban VIII, Benedict XIV, Pius VII were not less ardent defenders of the liberty of the Indians and the Negroes, pagan as well as Christian. At the Congress of Vienna, Pius VII insisted upon the total abolition of the slave trade. Gregory XVI reminded those who had gone astray of their duty in this matter, and renewed the decrees and the penalties which had been directed against slave-traders by the Holy See. He invited the other nations of the world to follow the example of gentleness set by the nations which had abolished slavery. Finally Leo XIII is happy to be able to felicitate kings and governments upon the realization of this desired end and upon their response to the too long unheeded cry of nature and the Church.

But the Sovereign Pontiff establishes the fact that, if the slave trade has been abolished on the seas, it still continues with all of its horrors on land, and especially in Africa. He describes the abominable practices of the slave-traders, based upon the doctrine of Mahomet, who prescribes servitude and considers the Negro as but little above the brute. To this doctrine are due the sudden attacks upon peaceful villages, the devastations, the massacres, the abduction of entire populations, whom they carry away to sell in infamous markets, after long marches made

beneath the weight of chains and under the lash, so that the path of their horrible caravans is marked by the skeletons of the unhappy ones who succumbed by the way. Upon the evidence of travelers, 400,000 Africans are thus sold like animals every year, and the half of those kidnaped perish on the road. Before such scenes as these, a cry of grief and charity escapes from the heart of the Pontiff: "We who represent the person of Christ, the most loving Savior and Redeemer of all nations, . . . We are hardly able to express with what pity We are seized in behalf of these unhappy peoples, with what charity We extend our arms to them, with what ardor We desire to be able to give them every assistance and every relief, in order that, delivered at once from the bondage of men and of superstition, they may at last serve the only true God, beneath the very easy yoke of Christ, and become with us participants in the heavenly heritage." The Pope then makes an impassioned appeal to the governors for the total suppression of the slave trade. Then addressing himself to the missionaries, he encourages them in their apostolic labors by the example of Blessed Peter Claver, who for forty years consecrated himself to the care of poor Negro slaves, whose perpetual slave he declared himself to be, and whose apostle he has justly been proclaimed.

The Pope concludes his Encyclical with some wise suggestions to the Bishops concerning the manner in which the liberation of the slaves in Brazil should be conducted, in order that this great act, surrounded with many difficulties, may be accomplished in a tranquil, just and Christian fashion, without disorder or trouble, and thus in the interest of the slaves themselves. It is essential that the slaves should prove themselves grateful, worthy of liberty, by good conduct and the scrupulous performance of duty in the city and in the family. Let them guard themselves against envy with respect to those who are favored by fortune. For envy is a fruitful source of danger to the public peace. Let them be contented with their lot and seek before all else the blessings of heaven, for which they were created and redeemed by Jesus Christ. Let them love God and obey His commandments, and let them render to the Church a love like that which she cherishes for them.

Thus the Church unbinds the most intricate knots, and conciliates interests most contradictory in appearance, by means of simple charity. What she did but yesterday for slaves and their masters, she would do for all other classes of society, if, in the manifold questions that divide the world, they would heed her counsels.

At this point we recall the affecting audience of May 24, 1888. Lyons, the cradle of the work of the Propagation of the Faith, and Africa, where the zeal of Frenchmen for the extension of the kingdom

of JESUS CHRIST is manifested in the most striking manner, were represented there by a band of pilgrims who surrounded the glorious primate of Africa and his suffragans. Conspicuous in the crowd were twelve Algerian missionaries, twelve blacks, slaves who had been rescued by the missionaries in the very heart of the Dark Continent, and twelve Arabs, or Kabyles, clad in their white burnooses.

This audience was like the dawn which follows a dark night. It seemed like the fulfilment of the words of Scripture: "Ethiopia shall stretch her hands forth to God in supplication. The Negroes shall kneel before CHRIST," who is represented on earth by His Vicar. Cardinal Lavigerie emphasized this prophecy in his address to the Holy Father.

After having recalled the Encyclical, in which, on the very eve of that day, Leo XIII had entreated the Bishops of Brazil to work for the abolition of slavery in the great South American empire, the Archbishop said:

"What Your Holiness has thus recounted and branded is the true history of the blacks who are at this moment at your knees. All of them, without exception, are witnesses and victims of these infamies. All of them have been violently snatched from their families, separated from their fathers and their mothers, whom in many instances they have seen massacred under their eyes. All of them have been dragged to the slave market over those accursed roads which Your Holiness has described with an accuracy which makes one shudder, roads which are traced for the traveler by the skeletons of Negro slaves. Finally, all of them have been sold like cattle; and if the missionaries, whom You, Most Holy Father, sent ten years ago, in the first days of your Pontificate, had not been present to rescue them in the name of the Church, with the resources of a blessed work, *the Holy Infancy,* they would still be beneath the yoke and the lash of pitiless masters, or dead with their sufferings on the arid sands of our deserts!

"Moreover, they have left in the interior of our vast continent an entire people, their own people, a sacrifice to these terrible miseries; an hundred million men (this is the figure at which explorers estimate their number), an hundred million men, women and children condemned to such a life and to such a death!

"O Most Holy Father, with what benedictions the blacks of Africa will one day cover your name! How dear and sacred it will remain to them, when in the course of ages they shall know with what kindness You raised your voice in their behalf, while all the world seemed indifferent to their fate: with what apostolic charity You have reclaimed for them justice and peace!

"It seems, Most Holy Father, that Divine Providence has so disposed the world that You might be able to receive the earliest expression of

a gratitude so justly due, and to have here before You, as it were, a visible confirmation of your word. This is the first time that Negroes from the very center of Africa have appeared before the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST; and, although they were without previous information, they chanced to be in Rome on the very day when your voice, echoing that of your glorious predecessors, St. Gregory, Innocent III, Benedict XIV, was reminding the world of the rights of humanity and of nature, which are being so grossly violated, and of the obligation of Christians to bring these horrors to an end.

"It was near the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul that they heard You, in the beautiful language of your Encyclical, recall the fact that at the outset these two great apostles proclaimed the abolition of slavery when they proclaimed the liberty which JESUS CHRIST restores to all men who are purified by His sufferings and death. And now that they see You, Most Holy Father, it seems to them that they behold Peter living again in your sacred person to instruct and govern the Church, and they repeat with the Fathers of Chalcedon what the Fathers said of another Leo, who will henceforth no longer be the only one of the name to wear the title of the Great in the history of the Church: *Petrus per Leonem locutus est!*"

To this moving address the Holy Father replied in a discourse overflowing with paternal affection and apostolic zeal. He excited anew the ardor of the missionaries and the Cardinal in behalf of the abolition of the slave trade in the following glowing words:

"Since Africa is the principal theatre of this traffic and, as it were, the home of slavery, we recommend to all the missionaries who preach the Gospel there to consecrate their strength, their very life, to this sublime work of redemption, following the example of the glorious Peter Claver whom We have recently canonized. We also recommend to them to rescue as many slaves as possible, or at least to procure for them the alleviation of the most tender charity. But it is above all upon you, M. Cardinal, that We count for the success of the works and the missions in Africa. We are acquainted with your active and intelligent zeal; We know what you have done up to the present, and We are confident that you will not grow weary before you have brought your great enterprises to a happy end. . . ."

Then congratulating the Africans present upon their liberation and their conversion, he said to them: "Persevere in your pious sentiments; be constantly faithful to the promises of your baptism, and become in your turn bearers of good tidings to your innumerable brothers who are less fortunate than you."

The pilgrims and missionaries of Africa were then permitted to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Holy Father. . . . In the presence of these first fruits of the African race, gathered by the steward of the great Christian family, the mind, penetrating the veil of the future, pictured to itself the nations of Africa finding beneath the crook of the Supreme Shepherd not only liberty, but the blessings of the spirit, of the intellect, and of the body.

The great instrument for realizing these distant hopes is the Catholic apostolate. Thus the solicitude of Leo XIII in behalf of the welfare of the black race has everywhere translated itself into the impulse which all nations have given to the African missions. The Pontifical hand which blesses the works of Cardinal Lavigerie in France gives birth to new legions of missionaries in Belgium, who are destined to evangelize the Congo; and the words of the Apostle, which exalt the Archbishop of Carthage, stir up generous rivals in Germany.

Uniting on one page his preoccupation anent the social question and his zeal in behalf of the welfare of the people of Africa, Leo XIII writes to the Archbishop of Cologne on the 20th of April, 1890, urging him to push the apostolic work and to create German missions in Africa. "Having obtained from the imperial government," he says, "freedom of access for Catholic missionaries to the countries under German protectorate, We cannot refrain from exhorting you and the other Bishops who govern the dioceses of the Empire, carefully to examine the German clergy, who have given so many proofs of their apostolic constancy and zeal, in order to discover if there be not among them priests called by God to carry the light of the Gospel to the unhappy nations of Africa." In order to facilitate these calls, Leo XIII exhorts the German episcopate to establish a seminary for African missions. Germany heeded the summons of the Pope; its missionaries have deserved so well of the cause of civilization that Major Wissman did not fear to render them public homage by placing them, to the great scandal of Lutheran pietism, high above the ministers who have been sent to the same regions.

There is one form of Catholic apostleship which, possibly more than any other, has already contributed to the conversion and civilization of barbarians,—the establishment of monasteries about which the Christian populations gather, and which originally became the foundations of many of our European cities. Leo XIII desires to establish in Africa similar hearthstones of Christian civilization. Accordingly, in 1893, he contributed $20,000 to the establishment of a Trappist mission on the Belgian Congo which is destined to become a powerful center of attraction to the inhabitants of that neighborhood.

A fortunate event, which took place in the heart of Africa, has recently encouraged Leo XIII and Catholics in their efforts to convert the Dark Continent. Mwanga, King of Ouganda, driven from his realm by the Arabs, assumed the offensive and, thanks to the rallying of the converted Negroes of Ouganda, succeeded in winning back his throne. But lately a fierce persecutor of Catholics, this Black did not withhold his appreciation, but asked that missionaries be sent him. This is the letter which he wrote to Cardinal Lavigerie:

Eminence and Great Father:

I, Mwanga, King of Ouganda, send my envoys to you. I write to inform you of my return to my kingdom. You will know that when the Arabs routed me, I took refuge in Bukumbi. Mgr. Livinhac and his missionaries treated me well. After four months the Christians encouraged me to venture forth. For five months we waged war. God blessed us, and we vanquished the Arabs. Now, I entreat you, be willing to send priests to teach the religion of JESUS CHRIST in all the country of Ouganda. I beg you also to send some physicians like those who went to Ujiji; when they arrive I shall give them a good place. I learn that our Father the Pope, the great Prince of religion, has sent you to negotiate with the Lords of Europe for the suppression of the slave trade. I, too, if the whites are willing to place the means at my disposition, might aid in this work and prevent the commerce in slaves in all the country about Nyanza. Deign to ask Heaven to grant me strength to act well; for my part, I pray God to bless all the works which you are doing for His glory. I subscribe myself,

Your son,

MWANGA,
King of Ouganda.

It is well known how these prayers were granted and how rapidly Catholicism developed in Ouganda. It will be remembered how the Protestant missionaries, inspired by jealousy, stirred up a storm against this newly born, yet prosperous, Christianity, and how, in 1892, the cannons of the English Company of East Africa, which had been placed at the service of sectarian spite and jealousy, massacred the inoffensive natives, set fire to their villages, dispersed their wives and children through hatred of the Catholic name. Eternal shame to these pretended civilizers, who have the infamy to rival the cruelty of the most barbarous slave-traders and to cry aloud their preference for Mahometans and pagans! All hope of the conversion of Ouganda seemed for the moment destroyed. But that happened there which happens to all young Christian movements: the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.

The thousands of Christians of Ouganda, driven from their homes and forced to concentrate with their missionaries in the distant district of Bouddou, began to see better days and, in spite of the efforts of the enemy of grace, conversions have resumed their upward march, to such

an extent that the missionaries are no longer equal to their blessed ministry. Indeed they have recently had to disband 1,000 catechumens, who had gathered about them, consoling them with the promise that they would be admitted to instruction, an hundred at a time. They are loudly crying for a reinforcement of missionaries.

Moreover, since the evacuation of those regions by the English Company and the dispatch of the imperial English commissioner, Sir Gerald Portal, it seems that Catholics may again count upon the equity and protection of authority. May the Christian movement in Ouganda hereafter flourish without impediment!

The persecution of which we have spoken could not have been foreseen when, on the 17th of July, 1890, Leo XIII wrote to Cardinal Lavigerie to congratulate him upon the progress which his work had made in spite of all difficulties. The Pontiff rejoiced to see the multiplication of the apostolic calling, and he expressed especial delight in the attitude of the barbarian princes, who desire to embrace the Catholic faith and who are asking for missionaries to hasten the propagation of the kingdom of God in their realms.

To civilize Africa, Leo XIII sees nothing more efficacious than the dispatch of a great number of apostles. "The soldier of Christ who consecrates himself to the Missions does not go forth prompted by the love of gain or glory, but called by God, disposed by His grace to have no fear of fortune. . . . It is not cause for surprise if the heroic virtue of these men, accustomed to rule the appetites of the body with the spirit, has power to work anew the miracles by means of which the Lord renewed the face of the earth through the preaching of the Apostles."

This consideration does not prevent the Pontiff from highly praising the action of the sovereigns of Europe who, in the Congress of Brussels, had just agreed "to take the cause of the Negroes under their protection and to adopt measures to check the slave trade."

This congress, convoked at the instigation of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, made a praiseworthy effort to put an end, by means of European diplomacy, to the greatest disgrace of our epoch. But for various reasons, and especially because of the rivalry of national interests and the infamous cupidity of certain commercial establishments, this congress did not produce the results hoped for. The privilege of visiting ships suspected of being slave transports was not recognized without restrictions, thanks to the exaggerated susceptibility of French patriotism. The importation of adulterated alcoholic liquors which poison the black man, and of arms which are used to commit all manner of crimes at his cost, was perhaps prohibited in theory; but the skill

Reception Hall in the Vatican Summer House.

The Writing Desk of Leo XIII.

The Private Chapel of Leo XIII in the Vatican.

Hall Leading to the Pope's Chapel in the Vatican.

of greedy speculators has had no difficulty in evading the regulations which were indeed not easy of enforcement.

Nevertheless, the general act of the conference of Brussels is wisely conceived and will produce the happy results which Cardinal Lavigerie had in mind, when, calling it *the charter of African liberty,* he declared that this act "bears in its womb the death of odious slavery and will remain as the greatest and purest honor of the end of the century."

Upon motion of M. Guttierez de Agueda, the congress claimed the honor of placing its resolutions under the aegis of Leo XIII. The Spanish Plenipotentiary expressed himself in the following words:

"At the moment of the termination of our labors, I would wish, Gentlemen, to call your attention to a name surrounded by an affectionate and universal respect. The reunion of this conference testifies to the part which the governments here represented have desired to take in the movement which is agitating Europe in behalf of the unhappy races of Africa. But we dare not forget the efforts of the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII, to give direction to this movement, nor the evidence of paternal solicitude which he has given to the disinherited races whose fate has so long occupied us, nor the sacrifices and labors of those who have so efficaciously supported his generous designs. The general act lays the foundation of a work which is essentially one of humanity and civilization. Repeatedly we have appealed to all magnanimous men. I believe therefore, Gentlemen, that I interpret your feeling in proposing that the protocol of this conference attests the expression of a vow which we all now make. May Pope Leo XIII hereafter still lend the support of his word and the concurrence of the moral forces which gather about the Prince of the Catholic Church, to the cause which has been the object of our solicitude, and above all to the resolutions adopted in common by the powers. The high consideration which the governments profess for the Holy Father is a sure guarantee to me of the reception which my motion, involving as it does the point of view of several of our colleagues, will receive at the hands of the members of this assembly."

Baron Lambermont, the Belgian Secretary of State and president of the conference, seconded the motion in the following words, which were ratified by the unanimous applause of the assembly: "It is true, as M. the Minister of Spain has well said, that the name of Pope Leo XIII cannot be mentioned without profound respect and great love. I think, therefore, that I express the mind of my colleagues, in associating myself with the words of M. Guttierez de Agueda. The protocol will mention the homage rendered to His Holiness."

European diplomacy is, we must admit, rarely so well inspired. If it could more frequently bring itself to recognize the efficacy of the intervention of the Papacy in international questions, success would less infrequently crown its efforts.

Moreover, all governments are not entitled to the same degree of praise. If the Minister of Italy does not seem to have stood apart from his colleagues on this occasion, nevertheless, at the Quirinal, the intervention of Leo XIII in the slavery question is not regarded with favor. On the 27th of June, 1889, the president of the council, M. Crispi, discussed in open Senate the folly of Italian Catholics in supporting the antislavery work and "thus spending their money in behalf of an influence which is not Italian. This work," he added, "is destined to support the influence of the country of its founder," Cardinal Lavigerie!

To such an extent does the sectarian spirit retard the great causes which interest all humanity.

Compared with this petty opposition, how noble appears the universal action of the Pontificate, manifested with new splendor in the letter addressed, on the 20th of November, 1890, to all of the Bishops of the world. How beautiful it is to see the Vicar of Jesus Christ remind the world of the brotherhood of all men in Christ, avenger of the liberty of us all, and to see him multiply instances for the edification of princes and individuals, to interest them in the cause of the unhappy slaves "who, to the number of about 400,000 a year, are snatched by main force from their rustic villages and led, loaded with chains and overwhelmed with blows, to distant markets where they are exposed and sold like animals."

But it is not by words alone that Leo XIII intends to succor the Negroes. He desires that everyone should follow his example in contributing to this great work of redemption, and to this end he commands that on the day of the Epiphany a collection shall be taken throughout the entire world in behalf of this work so near to his heart. A touching thought it is to place this contribution under the auspices of the divine Child, revealing himself for the first time, in the person of the Magi, to the people sitting in the shadow of death!

"We desire," says Leo XIII, "that everyone should participate in this holy work, if only by a slight alms, in order that the burden, divided among many, may be more easy to bear, and in order that there may thus be shed upon all the grace of Christ, whose kingdom it is our purpose to extend and who will accord to all peace, forgiveness of sins and the most precious rewards."

The distribution of the alms thus gathered, the Pontiff entrusts to the Propaganda with the instruction that "the money accruing from the

nations that have Catholic missions for the liberation of slaves shall be appropriated to the support of those same missions."

Let us add that, in his keen desire to see the antislavery cause prosper, the Holy Father has promised to apply to this work the major portion of the gifts which he received from the faithful on the occasion of his episcopal jubilee.

We have had to limit ourselves to a slight sketch of the activity of Leo III in behalf of the slaves and the African missions. But what an epic might one not write in giving a detailed account of the gigantic labors executed in Africa under the inspiration of Leo XIII and through the activity of Cardinal Lavigerie! It would be necessary to describe the missionary legions attacking the Dark Continent from every side, creating centers of light and civilization there, and drawing unto themselves, as by an invisible love, the ardent sympathies of the natives. It would be necessary to give a detailed exposition of the efforts of the Pope and of the Cardinal to protect, by a ring of iron, the regions of Africa which are still intact from the incursions of the infamous dealers in human flesh. It would be necessary to describe the military heroism of Joubert, that Frenchman "*Sans peur et sans reproche,*" who during a number of years coped single handed with slave-trading heathendom; that second St. Louis, who is, as Captain Jacques says, "the good sergeant of God among the blacks, to whom he brings both material well-being and peace, together with the love of labor, which civilizes the most abject, the hope which consoles and the faith which ennobles." It would be necessary to display all this living, stirring, struggling, suffering and, ever upheld by the spirit of God, manifesting itself without respite in the ardent language of Leo XIII and the *furious* activity of the Cardinal! For it was indeed the holy enthusiasm for good, *sacer furor,* which animated the great primate of Africa.

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Without wishing to give a prosaic résumé of this history which is still in the making, we cannot refrain from saying a word about the antislavery campaign undertaken by Cardinal Lavigerie with the benediction and aid of Leo XIII.

In May, 1888, in the audience of which we have already given a report, "the Holy Father," says the Cardinal, "publicly condescended to choose me to preach a new and peaceful crusade in behalf of the blacks." Immediately the Archbishop of Carthage started on his way and with incredible ardor bore his ringing message into France, England, Belgium, Holland and Italy, spreading his propaganda by letter as far as Germany. Thus the antislavery work, constituted by distinct nationalities, was organized under the direction of independent national

committees which exert their activity in their own countries, and to the national advantage where the nation owns territory in Africa. "The work has been placed upon an exclusively humanitarian and religious ground. It is upon this ground likewise that the activity of Leo XIII is exerted. I think I am committing no indiscretion in saying that, to avoid any false interpretation in this regard, he has gone so far as to refuse, with entire disinterestedness, a considerable territory which is not yet within the sphere of any European influence and which a Catholic sovereign offered to guarantee to the Holy See."

The object of the work is to combat the slave trade, indigenous slavery, and the disguised slavery of laborers who are nominally free, but who are in fact the creatures of certain European enterprises. To this end it proposes:

1. To agitate public opinion;
2. To solicit and to collect financial resources among its adherents;
3. To encourage the enlistment of volunteers.

It was in Belgium that the Apostle of Africa did his most vigorous missionary work. In a memorable conference held in St. Gudule's in Brussels, Cardinal Lavigerie recalled the initiative taken by King Leopold II in the Central African question, the appeal which he made to Europe and the noble idea by which he was guided in his great enterprise. "This idea," the King of the Belgians said in his invitation to the scholars of Europe, "this idea is eminently one of civilization and of Christianity: to abolish slavery in Africa, to pierce the darkness which still envelops that division of the world, to pour into it the treasures of civilization."

Action soon followed words. "Explorers, intrepid officers, and later, devoted and capable administrators, offered themselves at the risk of their lives. Some of them are dead upon the field of honor. Others have made admirable discoveries, and the face of our continent is changed."

After this testimony the Cardinal, boldly apostrophizing his audience and applying a biblical parable to the Belgian Catholics, reproached them for having slept while their king was sowing good seed; while the enemy, too, were scattering tares upon the cultivated field.

That enemy is barbarism, which parades the horrors of slavery upon the soil of Africa, committing its ravages especially upon the Belgian Upper Congo.

"A map of the slave countries has recently been prepared in England," the Cardinal continues, "upon which their present condition is indicated by various colors. The brighter colors indicate those in which slavery and its crimes simply exist; the darker colors those which

it has destroyed, in a passion of impious fury. Now in all Africa there are but five provinces marked in this color of death, and these five provinces are situated on the banks of the Upper Congo."

Mongrel slave-hunters hurried forward in the train of European explorers. They established their base at Nyangwe and they were soon followed by "a famous Mahometan, whose name will some day, I fear, become yet more famous," the fierce Tippoo Tib. Very soon, according to an expression of a missionary, "all the Upper Congo groaned." The flourishing district of Manyema beheld its population of a million reduced to five thousand inhabitants, which means that two hundred men were killed for every slave! The infamous market of Ujiji is choked with slaves.

Upon the evidence of a missionary, "in the streets one met at every step living skeletons, painfully dragging themselves along with the aid of a staff; they were no longer chained because they no longer had the strength to escape. Suffering and privation of every kind were painted upon their meager faces, and everything indicated that they were dying of hunger rather than disease. By the great scars on their backs, one could see what ill treatment they had suffered at the hands of their masters. Others, crouched in the streets or by the side of the houses of their masters, who, foreseeing their approaching death, denied them food, were awaiting their miserable end.

Having asked an Arab why the corpses were so numerous about Ujiji and why they were left so near to the city, he answered me in a natural voice and as if we were discussing the simplest matter in the world: 'Formerly we were accustomed to throw the corpses of our dead slaves out yonder, and at night the hyenas would come and carry them away; but this year the number of the dead is so great that there are not enough animals to devour them. THE BEASTS HAVE HAD THEIR FILL OF HUMAN FLESH'!"

The wretched creatures who escape death by starvation or whipping are turned over to the Mussulman slave-traders of Asia who are relatively humane, or to the indigenous slave-traders of Africa who are horribly cruel. Whenever an Arab chief dies in the region of the Belgian Congo, twenty slaves are buried alive with him.

One chief had the hands of his slaves chopped off in order that they might beat the drums which composed his orchestra more softly with their stumps! Another proposed to a missionary to have eight of his women slaves burned alive in his honor, and was astonished at the indignation with which his suggestion was received!

After the description of these horrors the orator addressed the following burning exhortation to his trembling audience:

"What shall be done in the presence of such a spectacle? A famous word may serve to sum up the sentiment with which I would inspire you all. It was uttered by a king, a king of Belgian Gaul, who was born hard by the home of your ancestors, at Tournai, perhaps, where his father died. Clovis it was, who, while receiving instruction in the Christian faith and listening to the story of the Passion of the Savior and the cruelties of the deicides, drew his sword and cried: 'Ah! Why was I not there with my Franks!' Sons of Clovis, Catholics of Belgium, JESUS CHRIST is again being crucified upon the plains of Africa in the persons of His millions of blacks. The cruelties are not less great, the abandonment is the same; repeat, repeat the utterance of your ancient king and be there with your courage and your faith!"

These words of the Apostle of Carthage aroused Belgium.

Several months after the conference in St. Gudule's, $80,000 were already in the hands of the antislavery committee of Brussels. Leo XIII, blessing their work, sent them the sum of $10,000. In 1890, the first of the antislavery expeditions, destined to carry relief to Joubert and to establish along the Tanganika a series of armed posts to serve as a barrier against the raids of the slave-traders, set out. It was commanded by M. Hinck of the Belgian army, and was appointed to ascend the Congo to establish a base of supplies and an advance guard on the Lomami, and thence to extend a hand to Joubert and the other expeditions, who did not delay to turn the position of the slave-traders by advancing along the east coast. The Hinck expedition arrived at its destination, but was recalled before it was able to realize its superb, but momentarily abandoned, plan. Captain Jacques was more fortunate. After having, like a knight of the Middle Ages, had his sword blessed by the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST at Rome, he took the Eastern route in 1891, overwhelmed the ferocious Wagogos, and, after a wonderful march of fifty-eight days, reached the German station at Tabora with a caravan of 2,000 men and without having lost a single piece of the cloth which is the odd money of those parts.

A rapid and thrilling march brought him to Tanganika, where his sole presence determined the dispersion of the troops of Rumaliza, the powerful Arab of Ujiji, who was preparing to attack Joubert. Finally, on October 30th, Jacques joined Joubert at St. Louis of M'rumbi and saved him from imminent death at the hands of the menacing slave trading hordes who had massed around him.

But the Arabs soon took fresh courage. Jacques and Joubert asked for reinforcements, and a third expedition, commanded by Lieutenant Long, was sent by the Belgian Antislavery Society, on the 2nd of April, 1892, to raise the blockade of the two brave soldiers.

While waiting, the situation in Tanganika grew difficult. Vrithoff, one of Jacques' companions, was killed in an engagement with the slave-traders and died, "his young face still illumined by the smile which played upon his lips" in the midst of danger. (Letter of Captain Jacques.)

Jacques writes from Albertville (Tanganika): "This is the very place for the denouement of the drama which will put an end to the commerce in Negroes, and it is here that we should concentrate our forces." Friend and foe knew this. The blacks in great numbers took refuge with their saviors.

Jacques writes again:

"I have more than a thousand men able to carry arms. You will send me two thousand rifles, and I will only have an embarrassment of choice in placing them in hands capable of using them, and we shall be masters of all the country, and we shall safeguard entire races, thousands upon thousands of poor blacks, from the attaint of the slave trading bands."

With a few cannon he obtained, "*ipso facto,* sublime results while avoiding armed conflicts."

But the Arabs wanted to have it out. They built a fort before Albertville, ravaged the country and tried to reduce the Europeans and their black allies by famine. Joubert and Jacques, after having made a vain attempt to drive them back, asked for help, without which their position would become untenable; but very soon afterwards, Jacques and his lieutenants, MM. Duvivier and Docquier, discovering that the enemy was suffering more from famine than themselves, reassumed the offensive, captured the Arab fort almost without striking a blow and made a junction with the relief force commanded by M. Long. The situation then became reassuring for the antislavery forces and their protégés.

While these things were taking place, a fourth expedition was organized in Belgium, thanks especially to an extraordinary public collection and to a subscription from the Pontifical Zouaves in all countries, old comrades of Joubert's, who, as early as 1891, had taken advantage of the Jacques expedition to restock the post at St. Louis of M'rumbi with provisions. The Holy Father expressed his desire to participate in the antislavery crusade by sending another sum of $10,000 to the Belgian committee on the occasion of his episcopal jubilee.

This result, comforting as it is, would have been incomplete without the glorious events which have taken place in Belgian Upper Congo. For a long time the Sovereign King has been engaged in suppressing the slave trade in his territory. The camp established at Basoko has

checked the trade on the river itself, that at Lousambo now protects the East, and thus the slave trade has been curbed in half of the territory of the State.

A vigorous attack made upon a slave-trading center situated towards the north, in the region of the Ouelle and the Arouhimi, by Captain Van Kerkhoven, is thus described by P. DeBacker on the threshold of his expedition: "Eighteen hundred Arabs have been overwhelmed and massacred, their camp taken by storm! On all sides the natives are joining the whites and promising their liberators arms and lances; the Captain is arming them with European rifles." Towards the south, the young Prince Henry of Croy, who, with Count Ernest of Ursel, had put his sword at the service of King Leopold, took his turn in the fight against the slave traders. He put to flight a caravan of 1,200 men and delivered 307 slaves. Both he and Count Ursel have since then fallen victims to their devotion and to the African sun.

But this success did not erase the blot which Cardinal Lavigerie points out as still existing in all its horror. The independent State has been forced to treat with Tippoo Tib (1887), and to recognize him as the *vali* of Stanley Falls. It is possible that some of the authorities are to be censured for having made too many concessions to the Arab in the Upper Congo and for showing a tendency to attempt to use him as an instrument of civilization, an intermediary between the white man and the black. At any rate, the policy of the State seems for some time to have been inspired by the twofold consideration that the Arab is invincible, and that his presence in the center of Africa is a necessary evil.

Nyangwe and Kassango have thus remained the impregnable strongholds of the slave trade. This state of affairs is about to have an end.

In 1892, the Arab followers of Tippoo Tib rose, massacred the Hodister expedition and forthwith attacked M. Tobback, the Belgian resident of Stanley Falls, who, reinforced by Commandant Chaltin, bombarded the Arabian fortifications and took them by assault. This was the beginning of a campaign, which, according to the *Journal des Débats,* "was conducted with an energy and a decision which does credit to the officers of the young army of the Congo."

The principal feats of arms in this campaign were first the capture of the famous slave-trading retreat at Nyangwe (February 15, 1893) by Captain Dhanis, after a lively engagement in which 400 Arabs lost their lives; then the capture of Kassango, the residence of Tippoo Tib, by the same officer (April 22, 1893). From 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants were within the city when it fell into the hands of the Belgians. Finally Commander Ponthier, moving with extraordinary

energy and rapidity, took possession of Kirundu, scattered the Arabs in a series of engagements, and captured more than 8,000 prisoners and 1,200 rifles.

To anyone who will glance at a map, the enormous importance of these events will become evident.

The combined action of the independent State of Congo and the Belgian Antislavery Society has destroyed the cruel domination of the Arabs in Central Africa. The Belgians have washed in the blood of the oppressors the somber blot which, like a frightful stigma, dishonored the Congo. They have washed themselves—and how gloriously!—of the bloody reproach which Cardinal Lavigerie hurled at them from the pulpit of St. Gudule's. But a short time ago Mgr. Hirth, Bishop of Ouganda, had exclaimed in discouragement: "So many conferences and parleys in Europe and here such pitiful and deceiving results as these!" Hereafter such an utterance will be impossible. A result has been achieved and that an immense result. The principal object of the crusade of Leo XIII and of the primate of Africa has been realized: the domination of the Arab slave-traders, which some considered necessary and with which no one dared to interfere, has been brought to the ground. The initiative of the Pope, the words of the Cardinal, the will of the King, the arms of the Belgians have realized what seemed to be a distant and chimerical hope. The races of Central Africa are about to be resurrected to life and liberty: they are about to be born into Christian civilization. Never in our century, since the exploits of the Pontifical Zouaves, has the sword served a more holy purpose or enjoyed a more just triumph.

Oh! that the great Cardinal might with his own eyes have seen the realization of the projects which his apostle's heart had so long meditated and so ardently pursued! . . . But, like another Aaron, he was only permitted to have a glimpse of the promised land. As if he had had a presentiment of his approaching death, when he received the news of the first triumphs of Captain Jacques, he addressed to Belgian charity, on the 13th of March, 1892, these eloquent words of thanks, which to-day seem to come from beyond the tomb:

"I thank it in advance, in the name of the poor slaves to whom it has enabled you to give life and liberty; I thank it in the name of the weeping mothers and the poor little children, whom a barbarian hand will no longer separate pitilessly to massacre or to sell in distant markets; I thank it in the name of religion, whose progress it will further in peace and security; finally I thank it in the name of the missionaries, whose lives it will protect and whose regenerating and fruitful activity it will second."

A short time afterwards that noble voice became silent forever. On the 27th of November, 1892, the soul of the Apostle of Carthage entered eternity, and his name was left to history.

And already the calm of history has begun to settle upon these ashes hardly grown cold. The name of the great man, too frequently misunderstood, is everywhere greeted with a cry of unanimous admiration and the homage of spontaneous respect. In all parts of the world and through all the voices of publicity this admiration and this respect are making themselves manifest,—tardy justice to a man who did not escape the supreme test,—that of being suspected, misunderstood and condemned by his friends, the test of seeing the perfection of his obedience interfere with the works of his charity. . . . Peace and glory be to the ashes of a hero and an apostle!

Let us borrow the conclusion of our chapter from the *Moniteur de Rome:*

"Rarely has history known a collaboration so lofty and so fruitful as that of Leo XIII and Cardinal Lavigerie. In an hundred years, when the European tourist penetrates to the white cities of the Dark Continent, he will admire their sister statues in the public squares. To follow the intricate activity of the great Pope and of the great organizer of missions will be the subject of infinite meditation. Without Leo XIII, the primate of Africa would never have been a founder. The divine impress of the Creator would not have shone upon his brow. The works which he would have founded would have had a less full and rapid development, and the best of them, the most bold, the most worthy of envy, would never have been born. A century would not have sufficed to unfold all the wonders which have blossomed in ten years. Everything is noble in that intercourse between Rome and Carthage: the inspiration and the execution, the directions and the obedience, the intelligence which brings forth and the arm which carries into effect, the Chief who commands, blesses and approves, and the Apostle-patriarch, who beneath that light from the Vatican was capable of doubling the force and the dash whose startling manifestations the world has marveled at.

"History will not name the Cardinal without the Pope. They will live united in the memory of men. This association honors them both. They understood one another, and by joining forces they conceived and executed works with which are associated the redemption of a continent and the uplifting of a people. . . . Powerful as an inspirer and as a moderator, the Papacy is never so strong, never so fertile in acts, as when docile and puissant arms apply its thoughts and its conceptions. A great man is never so fruitful, his creations never have

greater solidity and splendor, than when his works receive the sanction of a great Pope.

"From the first day, indeed, Leo XIII divined in the Cardinal," one of the men who have deserved well of humanity. "To counsel, encourage and sustain him was his constant preoccupation. To make use of him for his designs was his most noble ambition. With what pride did he not speak of him? With what confidence did he not follow that illustrious career? Detractors, enemies, accusations, reproaches, calumnies, nothing prevented him from blessing the furrow of this greatest man of action in the field of missions."

CHAPTER XIX.

Leo XIII and the Social Question—The Knights of Labor—Memorial of Cardinal Gibbons—Decision of Rome—Leo XIII and the Pilgrimage of French Workingmen—The Audience of the 20th of October, 1889—The Encyclical RERUM NOVARUM upon the Condition of Workingmen—Its Effect upon Non-Catholics—Social Activity of Leo XIII in Rome.

THE year 1891 will be numbered among the decisive years of the century; it brought a light into the world and marked the starting point of an advance, for in that year appeared the Encyclical upon the condition of workingmen, the *Rerum novarum,* an admirable chart of the relations between capital and labor, a program in accordance with which the social order will be reconstructed naturally and peacefully.

Before analyzing this document we need briefly to recall the acts which preceded it. Leo XIII had long concerned himself with the social question; indeed, the germ of the great ideas which he has developed with such brilliancy in the Encyclical is to be found in the mandates of Joachim Pecci, Archbishop of Perugia. When he became Pope he had his eyes even more fully opened to the disquieting fermentation which is agitating the people; more than ever he perceived the necessity of guiding this movement, whose existence could no longer be denied and in which he saw not only the symptom of a real disease, but in many respects a legitimate aspiration towards better things, away from its dangerous tendency and back to a healthy course.

The Encyclical on Socialism, which he published soon after his elevation to the Pontificate, met the first of these necessities; it authoritatively points out the quicksands against which the social movement, in its difficult course, needs to be on its guard. Since that time Leo XIII has never failed to bless the efforts of Catholic congresses and workingmen's organizations in the field of social activity.

An occasion was soon offered to apply the touchstone of the Pontifical judgment to the claims of workingmen, in a case which was very delicate from the double point of view of doctrine and practice. The Knights of Labor, a powerful association of workingmen, had been established in the United States. They had at first affected the ways of Masonic and secret societies, but they promptly recognized the necessity of excising from their regulations whatever might give umbrage

to Catholics, who were very numerous in their ranks; and their grand master, Mr. Powderly, after having conferred with the ecclesiastical authorities, had the statutes revised with this purpose. He thus gained, if not the support, at least the neutrality of the majority of Bishops in the United States.

It was different in Canada. The Archbishop of Quebec, followed by the entire Canadian episcopate, did not hesitate to reprove the association because of its character and its tendencies. He submitted the question to Rome and procured the censure of the society in the form given to it by its statutes before their revision.

The episcopate of the United States, foreseeing the great difficulties that would arise if the society were definitely condemned, in turn sent a memorial to the Holy See, dated December 20, 1887.

In order to understand the importance which the American Bishops attached to the question, it is necessary to know that at the time of which we are speaking the Knights of Labor numbered 730,000 members, divided among 3,000 local branches.

Cardinal Gibbons affirms in his report that the association having been examined in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Baltimore by the commission of the Archbishops of the United States, only two out of twelve Bishops voted for its condemnation.

"Without wishing to approve all that is affirmed or prescribed in the statutes of the order," he says, "we do not find in them the elements required by the Holy See to rank an association among the prohibited societies. No oath is demanded, no obligation of secrecy before the ecclesiastical authorities is imposed, no blind obedience to the heads of the order, no formal hostility to religion; on the contrary, the grand master declares himself to be an active Catholic, a stranger to Freemasonry, and ready to correct in the statutes whatever may be indicated by the ecclesiastical authorities. Nor is there any trace of hostility toward the civil authority. The various parties respect the order and seek its support, the President of the United States himself not hesitating to advise with Mr. Powderly for the reform of social legislation."

As to the tendencies of the association, Cardinal Gibbons says:

"That there are with us, as in the other nations of the world, public injustices and a threatening social evil which require a firm resistance and a legal remedy, is a truth which no one will dare to deny and one which has been recognized by the Congress and the President of the United States. Without entering into the depressing details of these wrongs, which it seems unnecessary to do in this place, it may suffice to mention that the monopolies, both those controlled by indi-

viduals and by corporations, have not only evoked the complaints of workingmen, but the opposition of public men and of legislators; that the efforts of monopolists, which have not failed of success, to adapt legislation to their advantage are awakening the disquietude of the disinterested friends of liberty; that heartless avarice, for the sake of profit, is pitilessly oppressing, not only the workingmen belonging to various trades, but especially the women and even young children. These facts will make it clear to all lovers of humanity and of justice that if it is the right of laborers to protect themselves the entire people is under obligation to aid them by confronting the dangers with which civilization and the social order are menaced by avarice, oppression, and corruption. There is no way of denying the existence of the evil and the necessity of finding a remedy."

But the question arises, Are the means employed by the Knights of Labor legitimate? Here is the reply of the Cardinal:

"It will hardly be doubted that, in order to attain any public end whatsoever, association, the organization of the interested multitudes, is the most efficacious means, the altogether natural and just means. This is so evident and so perfectly in conformity with the genius of our country that it is not necessary to insist upon it. Association is practically the only method of gaining the attention of the public, of giving force to even the most legitimate resistance, and weight to even the most just demands."

The Cardinal then insists upon the necessity of turning the workingmen away from Freemasonry, and consequently of not depriving them of the privilege of entering into another organization which is not condemned. He refutes the objection against the promiscuity with Protestants, saying that such promiscuity is general in the United States and that it works no injury to laborers who are firmly attached to their religion. He is opposed to the constitution of brotherhoods under the immediate influence of priests: "We find that, with us, the presence and the direct influence of the priest are not advisable in cases where citizens assemble for the sole purpose of discussing their business interests. We have abundant means of making good Catholics without going such lengths, and simple common sense warns us not to push matters to extremes. It is true that in the order Catholics are exposed to the influence of the anarchistic, communistic, and atheistic elements; but experience proves that they are equal to resisting such influences successfully and that the spirit of anarchy and atheism has not yet been able to gain the upper hand in the society in question."

The Cardinal refutes at greater length the arguments drawn from the strikes:

"Insistence has been placed upon the outbreaks of violence, sometimes resulting in bloodshed, which have characterized the strikes inaugurated by the labor unions. There are three things to be said in this connection: First, that strikes are not the invention of the Knights of Labor, but the almost universal and perpetual means, among us as elsewhere, by which employes protest against what they consider to be unjust, and by which they demand their rights; second, that in such a struggle of multitudes of poor and oppressed against the duress and contumacy of the monopolists, anger and violence are frequently as inevitable as regrettable; and, third, that the regulations and the leader of the Knights of Labor, far from encouraging violence or the occasions for violence, use their powerful influence to prevent it and to restrain the strikers within the limits of good order and legitimate action.

"Doubtless, among the Knights of Labor, as in all bodies in which thousands of workingmen are banded together, there are passionate spirits, sometimes vicious, sometimes criminal, who have been guilty of violence and who incite their fellows to violent acts; but to attribute these acts to the organization would be as unreasonable, it seems to me, as to attribute to the Church the follies and the crimes of those of her children against whom she protests. I repeat that in such a conflict between great masses and an armed power which admittedly on occasion refuses to concede the simple rights of humanity and of justice, it is useless to hope that all error and all excess will be obviated. It is to ignore nature and the forces which control human society under actual conditions to dream of preventing this conflict and of dissuading the masses from that organization which is their only practical method of achieving success. The part of Christian prudence is, evidently, to attempt to gain the heart of the masses through love, in order to guide them in accordance with the principles of faith, of justice and of charity; to frankly recognize whatever is true and just in their cause, in order to be able to guide them away from the false and the criminal; and thus to convert into a legitimate, peaceful and beneficent contest what, by a system of severe repression, might be converted into an active volcano, similar to that which society fears and the Church deplores in Europe."

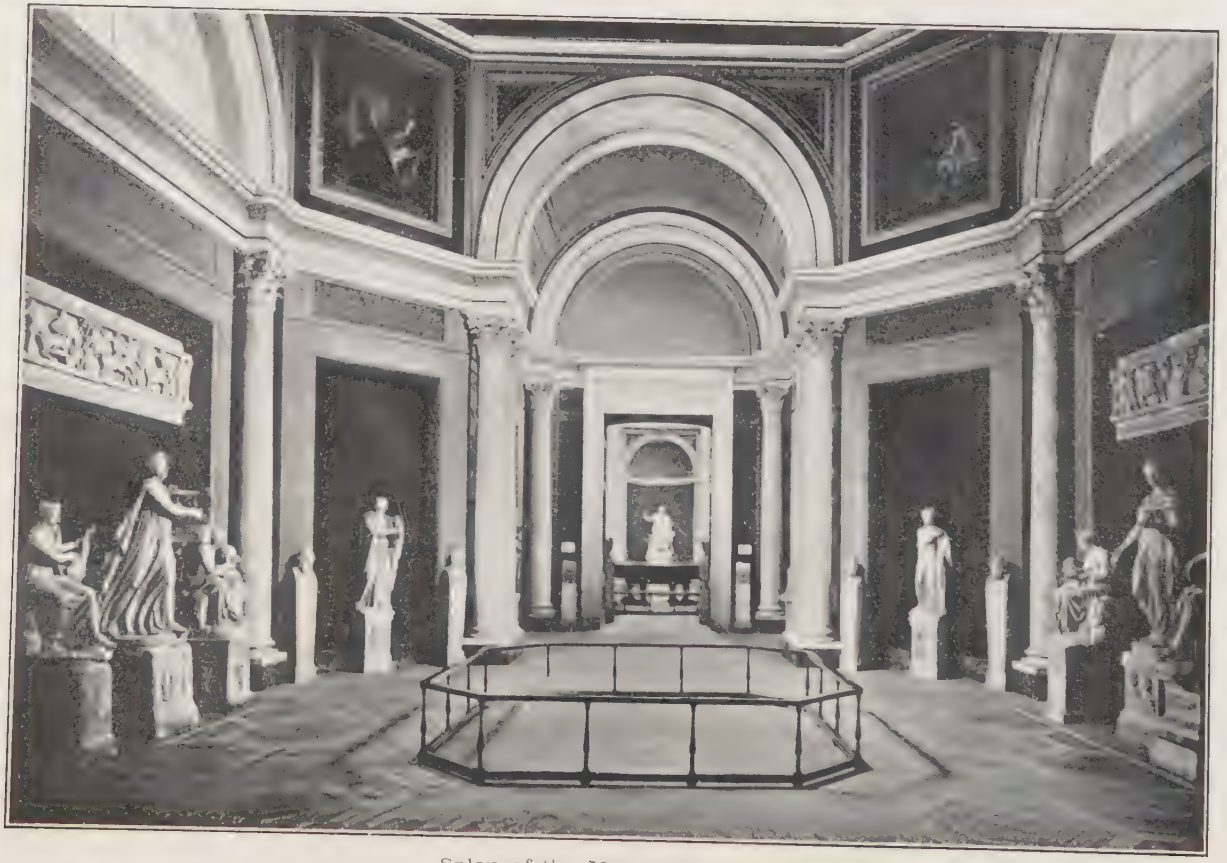
The Archbishop of Baltimore then shows that it is to the interest of the Church not to oppose the popular social movement. "To lose the influence which she exerts upon the people would be to lose the future, and it is through the heart rather than through the understanding, that this power, so vast in its capacity for good or evil, must be held and guided. Among all the glorious titles which history has accorded the Church, she possesses none which gives her so much in-

fluence at the present time as that of the *friend of the people.* . . . It is the prestige of that title which renders persecution almost impossible and which draws toward our holy religion the heart of the great American people."

The Cardinal recalls and appropriates the remarkable words of the Archbishop of Westminster: "We must admit with calm and accept with good-will the fact that industry and the accumulation of wealth hold the second place in our preoccupations; that the moral state and the domestic condition of the working population ought to hold the first. I dare not anticipate the acts of Parliament, but this must be their fundamental principle in the future. The present condition of the lower classes of our population cannot and ought not be maintained. Upon such a foundation no social edifice can endure. In our country in particular, such is the inevitable program of the future; and the attitude of the Church relative to the solution of the problem should be sufficiently evident. She will certainly not favor the extremes to which the poorer masses are naturally inclined, but, I repeat, she will strive to turn them from these extremes by winning their hearts, by showing them that like a tender mother she wishes to see all that is just and reasonable in their demands accorded them, and by blessing every legitimate method for ameliorating the situation of the popular classes."

The condemnation of the Knights of Labor would have excited great irritation against the Church, caused it to be represented as anti-American and driven many Catholics to rebellion. "We must recognize the fact," continues Cardinal Gibbons, "that in our century and in our country, obedience cannot be blind. To expect that it will be is greatly to deceive ourselves. Our Catholic workingmen sincerely believe that they are seeking nothing but justice and *that* by legitimate ways. A condemnation would be regarded as false and unjust, and would not be accepted. We can, of course, preach obedience to and confidence in the Church; but their good dispositions will not go so far. They love the Church and wish to save their souls, but they must earn their bread; and labor is now so organized that, except by belonging to the association, there is little chance of earning a living." Condemnation would, accordingly, have fatal consequences: the abandonment of religion, material ruin for the Church, the development of secret societies among Catholics, etc.

"We need also to remember that the form of this organization is so far from permanent that, in the estimation of practical men in our country, it cannot endure; whence it follows that it is unnecessary—even if it were just and prudent—to launch a solemn condemnation



Salon of the Muses, Vatican.

The Sistine Chapel, Vatican.

against a thing which will vanish of its own accord. Social agitation will certainly continue as long as there are evils to cure, but the associations designed to this end are necessarily provisional and transient. They are also very numerous, and I have already observed that the association of the Knights of Labor is only one of the forms of labor organization. To strike a blow at one of these forms would be to initiate an endless war; it would be to exhaust the forces of the Church in the pursuit of a host of changeful and uncertain spectres. The American people are watching the progress of our social conflict with perfect calm and confidence, and they have not the least fear of being unable to protect themselves against the excesses or the dangers which may occasionally arise. And, to speak with the most profound respect, but also with the frankness which my charge imposes upon me, it seems to me that prudence suggests, and that the dignity of the Church requires, that we do not offer to the American people an ecclesiastical protection which they do not ask for, and of which they do not think they have need."

The foregoing analysis of the memorial of Cardinal Gibbons was necessary to the comprehension of the importance of the response of the Roman Congregation charged with the examination of the question, which declared that, without in any way approving the order of the Knights of Labor, it refrained from condemning it. "The society of the Knights of Labor," said the Sacred Congregation, "may for the moment be tolerated." But the Congregation demanded at the same time that certain regulations relative to local assemblies be modified: "The words therein which smack of socialism and of communism must be so modified as to express only the right granted by God to man, or rather to the human race, to acquire by legitimate means, while respecting the rights and the property of every one."

The letter of Cardinal Siméoni (29th of August, 1888), which announced this decision to Cardinal Gibbons, concluded with these words:

"I am very happy to be able to say to Your Eminence that the Sacred Congregation has highly praised the project of the Bishops of the United States to watch, in concert with the Congregation, lest anything contrary to justice and integrity, or anything not in entire conformity with instructions relative to the Mason sect, be permitted to slip into these societies or other similar ones."

It is to be inferred from this attitude that Rome is not in principle opposed to the tentative organization of workingmen outside of the bosom of the Church, and that she is far from placing her power at the service of capital against the claims of labor. Labor and capital are two forces which the Church considers with an impartial eye and with the ardent

desire to see them both forward the prosperity of nations and the weal of souls.

The pilgrimage of French workingmen offered Leo XIII an opportunity to take a clearer and more definite position in this great social question which is agitating the world. On the 20th of October, 1889, he addressed the workingmen in the hall of the beatifications. At the outset he insisted strongly upon making religion the foundation of social peace. Religion converts society into a single family. Christianity teaches "that labor is the natural condition of man on earth, that to accept it with courage is an honor to him and a proof of his wisdom, that to desire to evade it is at once to be a coward and to betray a sacred duty. As for capital, 'the rich,' as Tertullian expresses it, 'were created to be God's treasurers on earth; to Him it belongs to prescribe the right use of temporal wealth; against Him will come formidable warnings if He learns to close His heart in the presence of misfortune and poverty.'

"Yet even this could not suffice. The two classes needed to be united, a religious and indissoluble bond needed to be established between them. This was the part of charity. It created this social bond and gave to it a force and a gentleness before unknown. As it grew it invented a remedy for all evils, a consolation for all griefs. This was the only solution which, in the inevitable inequality of human conditions, could secure to every man a tolerable existence. For centuries this solution was accepted by every one. To be sure acts of rebellion and insubordination occurred, but they were never more than partial and circumscribed. Faith was too deeply rooted in the souls of men to permit of a general and definite eclipse. No one would have permitted himself to question the legitimacy of this social foundation; no one would have dared to pervert the minds and hearts of entire races upon this point and to aim at the total ruin of society."

To prevent the realization of this criminal design, Leo XIII demands that the social edifice be cemented anew by a return to the doctrines and spirit of Christianity, "by reviving, at least in substance, in their beneficent and manifold power and under such forms as the conditions of our times permit, those guilds of the arts and crafts which formerly, animated by Christian thought and inspired by the maternal solicitude of the Church, looked after the material and religious wants of the workingmen, facilitated their work, took care of their savings and the management of their affairs, protected their rights and supported, so far as desirable, their legitimate complaints." He demands that, by a sincere return to the principles of Christianity, that harmony and union which constitute the sole safeguard of their reciprocal interests,

and upon which both private well-being and the public peace and tranquillity depend, should be re-established and consolidated between patron and workingman, capital and labor.

The Pontiff puts workingmen on their guard against those agitators who desire the destruction of civil society and of property. Then addressing himself to the ruling classes, he advises them "to have the heart and the bowels of a father for those who win their bread by the sweat of their brows." It is especially necessary to bridle the insatiable longing for riches, luxury and pleasure which, among high and low, grows upon what it feeds, until, breaking all bounds, it produces "a restiveness and discontent, whence are born revolt and enduring insurrection."

The Pope reminds the governments of the insufficiency of force and of the indispensable necessity of leaving to the Church "the liberty to resuscitate the divine precepts in the souls of men and to extend her salutary influence over all classes of society." It is further necessary, by means of wise and equitable regulations, to guarantee the interests of the laboring class, to protect youth, infirmity and the exclusively domestic mission of woman, the right and the duty to rest on Sunday. Thus purity of morals, regularity of life, and the social union will be promoted.

He directs the patron to consider the workingman as a brother, to sweeten his lot within the bounds of the possible, to watch over his spiritual as well as his corporal interests, to edify him by the good example of a Christian life, and above all never to depart from the rules of righteousness and of justice for the sake of quick and disproportionate gains.

In a final exhortation, Leo XIII advises the workingmen to fulfill their religious, social and domestic duties, and to cherish a trustful gratitude towards the Church, "which delivered them from the yoke of ancient slavery, and towards the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who does not and will not cease to inquire into and to promote their interests." Finally he engages them to prove by their conduct "that, in the associations where religion is held in honor, fraternal love, peace, discipline, sobriety, the spirit of foresight and domestic economy reign simultaneously."

This admirable discourse, which preluded the teachings of the Encyclical, was received with such enthusiasm as can be imagined by the 4,000 auditors, workingmen and employers who heard it. Even the radical press was struck by the lessons contained in the address to French workingmen and *Le Temps* declared "that unless one were willing to be deliberately blind and deaf, he must recognize and appreciate the

efforts of the Catholic Church in the interest of social well-being, and listen with attention and respect to the counsels and instructions of the Church published through the mouth of her august chief."

It would be difficult to set too high a value upon these public addresses of the Pontiff to the workingmen of the world, and yet they have a secondary importance when compared with the great Encyclical *Rerum novarum* upon the condition of laborers, a document which is distinguished for the loftiness of its point of view, for the fertility of the principles which it sets forth, and for the far-reaching effect which it is destined to produce.

A "formidable conflict" divides the classes of society; this conflict is due to the progress of industry, to the alteration in the relations of employers and workingmen, to the too great accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, to the growing pretensions of laborers, to their closer union, and, finally, to the corruption of morals. No subject is receiving more attention at the present moment. Accordingly the apostolic responsibility with which the Pope is charged compels him to lift his voice to solve the problem which is soliciting the consideration of our epoch.

The problem is a difficult and dangerous one; difficult because it is a delicate matter to determine the rights and the duties of the wealthy and the proletariat, of capital and of labor, dangerous because the revolutionary spirit attempts to take advantage of the difficulty to foment trouble. Nevertheless it presses for deliberation, because the lower classes are generally found to be " in a position of unmerited misfortune and wretchedness."

The Pontiff enters upon an examination into the causes of this situation, namely, the destruction of the ancient guilds which protected the workingman, the disappearance of the influence of religious principle from the laws, and the consequent isolation of the workingman in the face of " unbridled competition " and of " masters who are frequently inhumane." He considers the influence of usury, and of " the monopoly of labor and of the products of commerce," by a few rich men who " are thus able to impose an almost servile yoke upon the infinite multitude of the proletariat."

Socialists advocate the suppression of private property and its transfer to the community or the State. But this system, in violating the rights of property-holders and perverting the functions of the State, contemplates the subversion of the entire social edifice, and would, moreover, be disadvantageous to the laborer. The injury which the workingman would suffer from the application of the socialistic remedy is revealed by an analysis of the nature of lucrative industry. The mark

at which the workingman aims is "to acquire property which he will possess in his own right and as belonging to him." What he desires in placing his strength and his skill at the disposition of another is to obtain the means for self-support; that is to say, he desires his wage, but he also desires "the strict and rigorous right to use it as he may see fit." It is also revealed by an analysis of the origin of property: "If," the Encyclical says, "the workingman has succeeded in saving some money, and if, to make sure of retaining it, he has, for example, invested it in a piece of land, it is clearly evident that the piece of land is nothing but his transformed wage, the income thus acquired will be the property of the artisan by the same right as the remuneration of his labor itself."

It follows that the most evident result of the conversion of private into collective property will be to deprive the workingman of the free disposition of his wage, and, by the same reasoning, of access to property and the amelioration of his condition.

But the socialistic remedy is not only disadvantageous to the laborer, it is above all unjust, "for the ownership of property is a natural right of man." This assertion is proved by a comparison between animal and man. The animal, narrowly governed by its instincts, obtains its ends by the transient utilization of the things at hand. Man, on the contrary, possesses indeed a sensitive nature and may, like the animal, take delight in physical things; but that side of his nature is made to obey the superior faculty which distinguishes him from the animal, namely, "reason or intelligence; and by virtue of this prerogative, we need to recognize not only man's general capacity for utilizing outward things, but also his stable and perpetual right to hold them in possession, whether they be things which are consumed in using or things which remain after they have served us."

In fact, by virtue of his intelligence, man connects the things of the future with the things of the present, and being free and the master of his actions, he is in a way a law and a providence unto himself, under the supreme providence of God. Thence he derives the right to choose the things which he considers best adapted to supply the needs not only of the present, but also of the future, and thence he consequently derives the right of ownership, not only to the fruits of the earth, but to the earth itself, which alone is able perpetually to offer him the things wherewith to satisfy his constantly arising wants.

Neither is the appeal to the State valid, for "the State is posterior to the individual, and before it had been formed man had already received from nature the right to live and to protect his existence." Further let no one offer "the fact that God gave the world into the possession of the entire human race" as an objection to the private ownership of

property. That truth "only signifies that God assigned no part to any man in particular, but left the delimitation of property to human industry and to the institutions of the people." Moreover, the earth, even when divided, serves the ends of all, for all are nourished by its products, either directly or through labor, and we may "affirm in all truth that labor is the universal instrument for supplying the necessities of life, either through its exercise upon one's own property or in a lucrative art, the remuneration for which is reaped only in the various products of the earth for which it may be exchanged." This is the more true because the earth, without the care of man, could not furnish him with all that is necessary for his maintenance and development.

From this consideration the Pope draws a new argument in favor of private ownership. By applying his strength and his intelligence to the cultivation of the soil, man attaches and applies to himself, so to speak, that portion of the earth which he has cultivated; he stamps it with the impress of his own personality, he acquires an inviolable right in it; "for that field, skillfully tilled by the hand of the cultivator, has completely changed its nature; it was wild, now it is cleared; sterile, and now productive; he who has rendered it better is inherent in the soil and so confounded with it that it would be in large measure impossible to separate him from it. Now does justice permit that a stranger should come and appropriate the soil watered by the sweat of him who cultivated it?" The human race is therefore right in recognizing the natural foundation of private ownership by establishing laws to consecrate and protect it even as the divine law forbids the coveting of the possessions of others.

Then considering the right of private ownership in its relation to the family, the Encyclical establishes its foundation more and more firmly. In the first place, the family exists by natural right, independently of and anterior to the State. "No human law can in any way interfere with the natural and primordial right of every man to marriage, nor circumscribe the end for which it was established by God in the beginning: '*Be fruitful and multiply.*' Here, then, is the family, that is to say, domestic society, a small society, doubtless, but a real one and antecedent to all civil society, to which, from that time forward, certain rights and certain duties absolutely independent of the State must of necessity be attributed."

Among these rights it is necessary to count the right of private ownership, considered with reference to "the man established as the head of a family," and it is here necessary to apply what has been said of the isolated individual. In the family a human being receives a kind of extension. The head of a family needs to support his children;

he needs to provide for their future and to guard them against misfortune by means of a patrimony. "But is it possible to create this patrimony for them without the acquisition and the possession of permanent and productive wealth capable of being transmitted by inheritance?" Thus the existence of the family requires private ownership. But the family is a true society, governed by paternal power. "It is for this reason that, within the sphere determined by the immediate end of its existence, it enjoys, in the choice and utilization of whatever its conservation and the exercise of a just independence demand, rights which are at least equal to those of civil society. At least equal, We say, for domestic society takes a logical and real priority over civil society, in which its rights and duties necessarily participate."

Thence it happens that the State may not arbitrarily invade the sanctuary of the family. To be sure it may intervene to rescue a family from a desperate situation from which it is vainly attempting to escape, or to enforce respect for mutual rights which have been gravely transgressed. In this the State only extends its assistance to a family, which, as such, is a member of society, or protects the rights of citizens. But at this point the action of the civil power ends. "The paternal authority cannot be abolished or absorbed by the State, for it has one source with human life." Children, in whom the person of the father finds its extension, are not incorporated into civil society except "through the intermediation of the domestic society into which they are born." Thus the monstrous injustice of the social system, which substitutes the providence of the State for the providence of the father and breaks family ties, is laid bare. The pernicious consequences of this system are not less great than its injustice; "they are perturbation in all ranks of society; an odious and insupportable servitude for all citizens; an open door to all manner of jealousy, discontent and disorder; talent and skill deprived of their stimulants, and, as a necessary consequence, the drying up of riches at their source; finally, instead of the equality of our dreams, equality in nakedness, indigence and wretchedness."

"The socialistic theory of collective ownership is, therefore, absolutely to be repudiated as prejudicial to the very society which it purports to relieve, as contrary to the natural rights of the individual, as perversive of the functions of the State and disturbing to the public tranquillity. Whence it follows that the first principle to be laid down by all who sincerely desire the welfare of the people, is the inviolability of private ownership." But then where shall we look for the remedy which is so greatly desired? Leo XIII avows to enter into this subject to the full extent of his right and his duty, for the Church alone, of

which he is the visible head, possesses the secret of an efficacious solution.

Without doubt the intervention of "governors, masters, the wealthy and the workingmen themselves" is equally necessary, but without the Church their efforts will be vain. The Church alone is able either to bring the conflict to an end or to mollify it, thanks to the doctrines of the Gospel whence she draws that wherewith to clarify the minds of men, to regulate morals, and to ameliorate the lot of the poor by means of charitable institutions. Moreover, she ardently desires the union of the classes in the search for a better solution of the labor question; she also desires, in a just measure, the intervention of the public authorities.

One of the first precepts which the Church gives in this matter "is that man must take his condition patiently." Socialists will strive in vain to destroy social inequalities. These inequalities, based upon natural differences in talent and aptitude, are favored by nature. They are, furthermore, advantageous to society and its members; for society, a very diverse organism, requires different dispositions in its various organs, and the diversity of aptitude leads individuals to apply themselves to those social functions which suit them best.

It is a particularly dangerous chimera to pretend to do away with hard work. In the state of innocence, work was a pleasant occupation; after the fall it became hard, and, as such, it constitutes an inevitable expiation, together with other suffering and calamity, bitter fruits of sin. "Grief and suffering are the portion of humanity." They who promise a life exempt from suffering and made up of delight, deceive the people and prepare the way for calamities worse than the actual ones.

"The capital error in the present question is to believe that the two classes are born enemies. On the contrary, the wealthy class and the poor class are destined by nature to unite harmoniously and to balance one another in perfect equilibrium. They have an imperious need of one another; capital cannot exist without labor, neither can labor exist without capital." United, they will produce order and beauty; disunited, disorder and confusion. To bring the existing conflict between the classes to an end, "Christian institutions possess an admirable and multiple power." In the first place the Church reminds both employers and workingmen of the demands of justice. Upon the workingman these demands impose the obligation to furnish the labor promised by a liberal and just contract, to avoid injuring his employer, to obviate violence and sedition in claiming his rights, and, finally, to flee the plotters of disorder and the seducers of the people. On the other hand, the employer must respect in the workingman the dignity of the man and

the Christian. Corporal labor is honorable. "What is disgraceful and inhuman is to use men as the vile instruments of lucre and to esteem them only in proportion to the vigor of their arms." Their spiritual interests should be provided for, they should be protected against seductions, and the spirit of household economy should be strengthened in them. "Furthermore, justice forbids masters to impose upon their subordinates tasks which are beyond their strength or out of accord with their age and sex." One of the principal duties of the employer is to pay the workingman a fair wage and not to exploit it while speculating upon indigence. Accordingly "all acts of violence, all fraud, all tricks of usury" which are directed against the savings of the poor are the more illicit the greater the weakness of the poor.

The observance of these laws would suffice to suppress the causes of antagonism between the classes. But the Church desiderates more; she wishes to bring them into relations of true amity. And to this end it is necessary to appeal to the doctrine of immortality which reveals the true nature of this transient life. The consideration of the eternal life teaches us that we are not made for the frail goods of this place of exile. Wealth or poverty makes little difference; it is the use we make of them that counts. Moreover, wealth does not shelter men from sorrow. Jesus Christ trod the way of affliction—every man must follow Him to reach heaven. These are the stimulants of virtue and the sources of desert. As for riches, they are rather an obstacle than a help on the road to heaven, and the Lord will demand a very strict account of them. Without doubt private ownership is a natural right; but the just possession of wealth is one thing, the legitimate use of it another. The legitimate use of wealth requires, according to the doctrine of the Church expounded by St. Thomas, that a man should not consider his wealth as private so much as public, and that he should readily part with it to others.

In this connection the Encyclical expounds the Catholic theory of alms. "No one is required to succor his neighbor by denying himself or his family the necessaries of life, or even by retrenching upon those things which propriety and decorum impose upon his person." But, after these things, "it is a duty to pour the surplus into the lap of the poor." This is not a duty imposed by strict justice, except in cases of extreme necessity, but by Christian charity. Human justice cannot, therefore, enforce its fulfillment. But we shall have to answer for it before the higher tribunal of Jesus Christ. For "whosoever has received from the divine bounty a very great abundance of external things and the things of the body, or of the things of the soul, has received

them to the end that he may perfect himself and that, as the minister of Providence, he may succor the poor." In the eyes of the Church poverty is not an opprobrium, above all after the example of JESUS CHRIST, who embraced it voluntarily, God though He was. The true dignity of man resides not in the things of the world, but in virtue, the common patrimony of mortals, which alone leads to eternal life. Moreover, the poor are privileged in the heart of God, for He has called them blessed, and He has invited the little ones, the suffering and the oppressed to come unto Him. These truths, Leo XIII concludes, lower the pride of the rich, revive the courage of the poor, and thus tend to fill the gulf which separates the classes, so that "they shall stretch out their hands to one another and unite their wills in a common friendship."

"But simple amity is not enough; if the precepts of Christianity are obeyed, the union will be brought about through brotherly love." One God, the common Father of men, and one end, which alone is capable of giving them perfect felicity; one Redeemer, JESUS CHRIST: these are the things which unite men by a true bond of fraternity to one another and "to Christ their Lord, *primogenitus in multis fratribus.*" This fraternity is consolidated by the community of grace and glory, the heritage of the entire human race, from which the unworthy alone are excluded.

The Church is not satisfied with making known these truths so well adapted to produce a reconciliation; she herself shows the way to health and applies the remedy to the disease. She instructs and educates men in accordance with her doctrines. She enters into the wills of men and brings them under the governance of divine precept. This is the master key, which the Church received from JESUS CHRIST and which alone is apt to penetrate the depths of the human heart; by means of it she leads men to follow duty, to overcome their passions, to love God and their neighbors, and to triumph over all obstacles in the path of virtue.

This beneficent influence of Christianity is proved by the history of the world. Society was renewed, lifted up, or rather entirely resuscitated by Christian institutions, by the Christ, the beginning and end of the transformation, the Christ, God and man, whose life "invaded and leavened entire societies with His faith, His maxims, and His laws. For this reason, if human society is to be restored, it must return to the life and the institutions of Christianity." In short, a decadent society is recreated by returning to its source, and by pursuing anew and ardently the end for which it was established. This, then, is what Christian society in general, and each one of its classes, notably the laboring class, in particular, needs to do.

The Church is not so exclusively concerned in the cure of souls that she fails to provide for the necessities of this earthly life. She neglects nothing to rescue workingmen from wretchedness. To restore men to virtue as the Church does is conducive to this end. Indeed, Christian morals bring even the temporal benedictions of God; by moderating the thirst for riches and pleasure, by bringing frugality and economy into esteem, she puts at a distance the causes which destroy happiness, which endanger great fortunes as well as small, and which engender wretchedness. Furthermore, the Church makes direct provision for the disinherited in the charitable institutions which have compelled the admiration even of her adversaries. The early Christians stripped themselves in behalf of their brothers; indigence was unknown among them for they supplied the wants of the poor by means of collections taken in the assemblies of the faithful. In this wise was formed the patrimony of the Church, guarded by her as the property of the poor, by means of which all children of misfortune find relief. In comparison with this charity of the Church, civil charity, which they have been trying to substitute for it, will remain ineffective. The Church alone possesses the charity "which is devoted wholly and without afterthought to the use of our neighbor," for she alone has access to the font of charity, the Sacred Heart of JESUS CHRIST.

Notwithstanding what has just been said, human means must not be neglected. "All whom the question concerns should aim at the same result and work in concert, each one in his own sphere." In the first place the Pope seeks to determine the rôle of the State in this question; not the rôle of this or that State in particular, but that of "all government answering to the precepts of natural reason and the divine teaching" of the Church.

To begin with, the State should so regulate general order that "public as well as private prosperity would flow spontaneously from the very organization and government of society." Pure habits, well regulated and moral families, respect for religion and justice, equitable taxes, industrial, commercial and agricultural prosperity: these are the things that make for national prosperity, and, reactively, for the happiness of the citizen. The State, in applying itself to the development of these things, serves the interests of the entire community and thus simplifies the remedy for the condition of the workingmen.

Besides, "the express reason for all society is one and common to all of its members, great and small." The poor as well as the rich are citizens, that is, members of the body of the nation. "Inasmuch, therefore, as it would be unreasonable to provide for one class of society and neglect another, it becomes evident that the public authority should

take such measures as are desirable to safeguard the interests of the working class," who are in the majority.

This care will not prevent inequality of condition. In every society there must be governors, legislators, administrators, etc., and social pre-eminence is yielded to those who work directly and excellently for the common good. But those who, like the industrial workers, concur less directly in the common good, also serve the interests of society. Indeed, a certain surplus of material wealth is necessary to every society, and this surplus is everywhere produced by the laborer in the field or in the factory. He thus becomes, it is not too much to say, in this order of things, the unique source of the wealth of nations. It is therefore fitting that the State should see to it that "a fair portion of the wealth with which the laborer furnishes society should return to him, in order that he may live at the cost of fewer pains and privations. Whence it follows that the State should encourage everything which, from far or near, promises to ameliorate his lot." This solicitude would redound to the profit of the entire nation, for which it is highly important that the laborer, the producer of wealth, should not forever be "grappling with the horrors of penury."

It is fitting that the individual and the family should be able to act freely within the limits of the general welfare and the rights of others. But it is the function "of the governing power to protect the community, whose well-being is the *raison d'être* of the principal, and of its parties;" for the government should have in view, not its own interest, but that of those who are subject to it. Moreover, its authority is derived from God and should imitate the authority of God, whose solicitude extends to all creation and to each one of His creatures. "If, then, the general interests, or the interests of any one class, are being injured or simply menaced, and there be no other remedy, recourse should be had to the public authority."

The interests which, in case of need, should be so protected are: peace and order, public and domestic morality, religion and justice; further, one class should not be permitted to oppress another, and the health and strength of the generations which may be called upon to protect their country should be supervised. "The authority of the laws will apply, within certain limits," in cases where strikes menace the public tranquillity, in cases of the disintegration of the family among the working classes, of religious oppression, of excitation to vice by the promiscuous huddling together of the sexes in workshops, and in cases where excessive labor, as determined by age and sex, is imposed upon the workingman. The limits of State intervention "will be determined by the end for which an appeal was made to the protection of the

law; that is to say, the law will not interfere further than is necessary to suppress abuses and to remove dangers."

Let the State, then, protect the rights of all its citizens, and especially those of the feeble and indigent, who are not protected by their wealth. "But it is well to consider apart certain points of the very greatest importance."

The State must, in the first place, protect private property and prevent one man from appropriating what belongs to another "under the pretext of an absurd equality;" it must bridle the excitation of ring-leaders, who aim at disorder, and remedy those voluntary and concerted standstills called strikes, which "not only turn to the detriment of the employers and the workingmen themselves, but restrain commerce, prejudice the general interests of society and readily degenerate into violence." But it would be better to prevent, by removing the causes of conflict, than to suppress.

The workingman, too, has numerous special interests which demand the protection of the State. The interests of his soul, to which the interests of his body are subordinate, are first to be considered. From this point of view, all men are equal in a dignity which no one dare violate with impunity and which no one can abdicate; for it is not a question of rights which they may dispose of as they like, but of duties to God which they are bound to fulfill. Thence arises the necessity to rest on the Sabbath, which, withdrawing man from his labors and his daily cares, "lifts him to noble thoughts of heaven." The corporal interests of the workingman require that the public authority should rescue him from "the hands of those speculators who, making no distinction between a man and a machine, abuse the persons of workingmen without measure in order to satisfy their insatiable cupidity." The activity of a man is limited. If it grows with exercise, it has, nevertheless, need of intervals of repose. These intervals of repose should be regulated by the nature of the work and the health of the workingman, and by the circumstances of time and place. The number of hours in a working day should not exceed the measure of the workingman's strength. Women and children deserve special consideration. "Children in particular—and this demands strict observance—should not enter the factory until they have reached the age when their physical, intellectual and moral powers are sufficiently developed; otherwise, like a tender flower, they will be blighted by premature work and their education will be done for." Women should devote themselves to household duties, for these are essential to the education of her children and the prosperity of her family, and they are more conformable to the honor of her sex. "In general, the length of repose should be measured by

the strength which it is called upon to restore. The right to daily repose, as well as the cessation of labor on the Lord's day, should be an expressed or tacit condition of every contract drawn by employers and workingmen. Where this condition does not enter, the contract is not honest, for no one can demand or promise the violation of a man's duty to God and himself."

Leo XIII then enters upon a question which has been ardently discussed, even among Catholics: the question of the elements of a fair wage and of the intervention of the State in this matter.

"The wage," so some economists argue, "having once been agreed upon by the contracting parties, the employer in paying it fulfills all his obligations and is no further liable. Accordingly, justice is violated only when the employer refuses to pay in full or when the workingman fails to finish his work and to keep his promises; in this case only, the public power would have to intervene to protect the right of either." Leo XIII declares that to reason thus is to overlook a very serious side of the question. Labor is at once *personal* and *necessary;* "it is *personal* because active energy is inherent in the person, and because it is the property of him who exercises it and who has received it for his use; it is *necessary* because man has need of the fruit of his toil to conserve his existence, and because he must conserve it in obedience to the irrefragable order of nature." According to the first view, the workingman is free to hire himself for an inadequate wage. But the case is quite different if we consider the second view, which in reality is not separable from the first. "In truth, self-preservation is a duty imposed upon every man and one which he cannot evade without crime. From this duty it follows that he has the right to procure those things which are necessary to his subsistence, and which the poor man can only procure by means of his wage. The employer and the workingman may make any contract they please, or come to any agreement as to the figure of the wage; above their free will there is a law of natural justice, higher and more ancient, namely, the law according to which the wage must not be inadequate to support the sober and honest workingman. For if, driven by necessity or constrained by the fear of a greater evil, he accepts hard conditions, which perchance it might not be lawful for him to refuse because they are imposed by the employer or by whoever makes the offer of work, he submits to violence against which justice protests." The State should not, however, interfere importunately to regulate this question. In general the solution of the question should be intrusted to the corporations or syndicates, or recourse should be taken to some body, if any such exist, which has the "security and support of the State."

Continuing to discuss the material interests of the workingman, the Encyclical recommends saving, by means of which the workingman will be able to create a modest patrimony. The laws should, therefore, foster a spirit of proprietorship among the masses, arouse it and develop it. "This result, once obtained, would be the source of the most precious advantages, and primarily of a certainly more equitable redistribution of wealth." The participation of the people in the ownership of real estate would gradually bring about a reconciliation between the classes; it would increase agricultural production, for a man would work his own field more thoroughly than that belonging to another and would put his "whole heart into the land which he himself had cultivated;" finally it would check emigration, by giving the workingman a place in his native country. All of these things could take place "if the value of land were not exhausted by the imposition of excessive taxes;" this would be an outrage upon ownership, which the State has no right to abolish; for the sake of the common good the cultivation of land should be made as attractive as possible. Excessive imposts are contrary both to justice and to humanity.

After having expounded the rôle of the State, Leo XIII proceeds to the consideration of the other factors in the solution of the problem, namely, the action of the masters and the workingmen. He commends the enterprises which are conducive to the social peace—the mutual benefit societies, insurance, and especially the corporations or unions, which formerly rendered such good service to the workingmen and the arts, and which would not be less useful now if adapted to the conditions of a more refined civilization.

Man is born with a natural propensity to associate himself with his fellows. To this propensity civil society, formed with the common good of all citizens in view, owes its existence; then, within this larger society, restricted societies are formed, imperfect but true societies, called private, because they are established to serve the private ends of their members. These latter societies have as good a natural right to exist as civil society has, and the State cannot suppress them without violating the principle to which it itself owes its existence. It can only restrain or dissolve those which have for their end an object in flagrant opposition to justice or the security of the State, and even in this case it must proceed with great circumspection lest under guise of public utility it infringe upon the rights of citizens.

The Pope incidentally protests against the injustice to which the religious fraternities and orders which are pursuing essentially honest ends have fallen victims. The State should have respected in them, not only their natural rights and the superior right of the Church to

these societies, but also the right of the members of these societies to the patrimony of the same, and finally the rights of the beneficiaries. In spite of these considerations they have been despoiled, even while the liberty to form associations was being granted to the worst enemies of the Church and State!

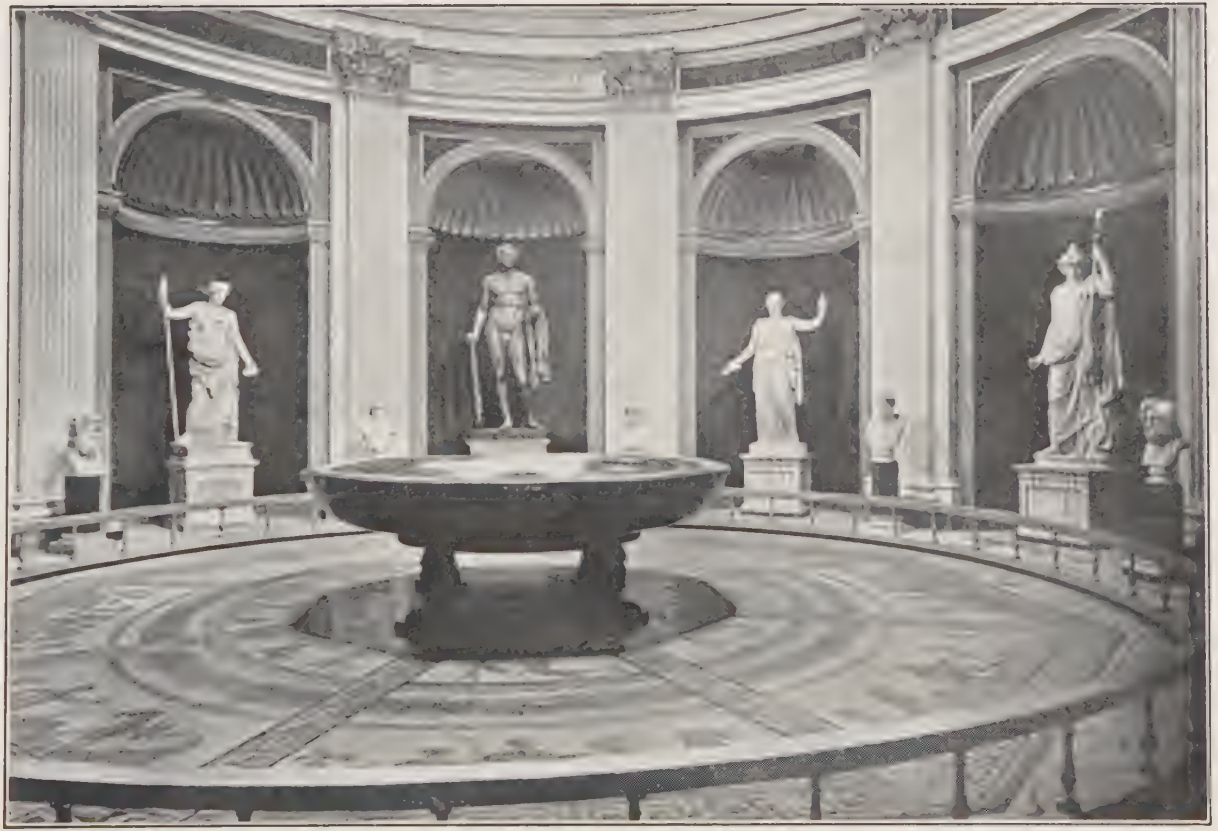
Never, as a matter of fact, have so many societies of all kinds been known among the workingmen. Many of them have unknown leaders, follow "a plan of action equally hostile to the Christian name and the security of nations" and condemn to ostracism whatever workingmen refuse to affiliate with them. Under these circumstances the Christian workingman is forced either to join one of these societies or to organize for the purpose of shaking off their unjust and intolerable yoke. Between these alternatives there is no room for choice.

The Pope lauds the zeal displayed by Catholics in working for the relief of the laboring class, the furtherance of the domestic and individual prosperity of workingmen, the improvement of the relations between the employer and the employed, the observance of duty and of divine precepts—the sources of peace and harmony. He also lauds the Catholic congresses in which ideas are exchanged, forces united, and plans of action adopted. He especially lauds those who apply themselves to the organization of unions among the various trades, who assist the artisan with their counsel and their fortunes and provide remunerative work. He lauds the zeal of the Bishops and the clergy, who render spiritual protection and assistance to these unions, the zeal of the laymen who strive to extend the benefits of these societies so that the workingman may find in them a guarantee of an honorable repose for his old days.

All these efforts inspire confidence for the future, but these societies must continue to develop. The State must protect them without interfering with their internal government or trifling with the mainsprings of their life. Indeed, life proceeds from an internal principle and is readily extinguished by the action of an external cause. The unions must have an organization and a discipline capable of producing oneness of mind and action. They must have authority to draw up statutes conformable to their ends. The nature of these statutes should be determined by circumstances, the genius of the nation, acquired experience, the character of the work, etc. All that can be said in general is, that the union should be so organized as to enable its members to "attain the highest possible growth in body, mind and fortune."

"But it is evident that the foremost object should be moral and religious perfection; this is the end which should regulate the entire economy of these societies; otherwise they will very soon degenerate and

Leo XIII. at Prayers in the Sistine Chapel.



Rotunda, Vatican.

fall very nearly to the rank of those societies in which religion holds no place." The Christian is characterized by his quest of the kingdom of God and of justice. For this reason religious instruction should have a large part in these corporations; they should aim to fortify the workingman against error and vice; they should teach him to love and obey the Church, and to frequent her sacraments. This point being established, the various offices of the unions should be distributed to the best advantage of the common good, and so that inequality of authority may work least injury to harmony. The offices should be clearly defined, the common treasury administered with integrity, the relief money scaled in advance in accordance with the degree of indigence. The rights and duties of the employer should be perfectly reconciled with those of the workingman. In this connection it would be well to establish boards of arbitration charged with the regulation of eventual litigation. Provision should also be made to keep the workingman steadily supplied with work, and a reserve fund should be established to parry accidents, old age, sickness and misfortune.

These rules would suffice to insure the welfare of the feeble. But the Catholic corporations will contribute to the general prosperity, as the past leads us to believe.

It was thus that the early Christians, once despised for their poverty, managed by wise, just and charitable conduct to silence sarcasm, conciliate the favor of the great, and finally to open the way for the triumph of Christian truth. The labor question which is being agitated to-day will take a similar course; for it must find a solution, either through reason or without it. Christian workingmen, united in the manner above described, will readily find a rational solution for it. "Whatever be the force of prejudice and passion among men . . . public favor will sooner or later turn toward these workingmen, who will be seen to be active and modest, placing equity before gain and preferring before all things the religion of duty." The way will then be open to those workingmen who have strayed afar to return to Christian truth and practice. The inhuman treatment which they endure, the way in which their value is estimated solely by their endurance, the disorder which they find in the societies which have seduced them, all of these things will lead them to perceive the error into which they have fallen. "Their spirits broken, their bodies emaciated, how many would not throw off this humiliating yoke; but, either through human reverence or through fear of indigence, they dare not. Well! to all of these workingmen Catholic societies can be of wonderful service, if, while they hesitate, the societies invite them to seek in their midst

a remedy for all their ills, and if, when they repent, the societies receive them with alacrity and assure them a safeguard and protection."

The Pope concludes and summarizes the admirable document which we have been analyzing with this ringing exhortation to action: "Let everyone put himself to the task which is before him, and that without delay, lest by deferring the remedy, the disease, already serious, grow incurable. Let the governors make use of the protective authority of the laws and institutions; let the wealthy and the employers be mindful of their duty; let the workingmen, whose fate is at stake, pursue their interests in legitimate ways, and, since religion alone, as We have said from the beginning, is capable of destroying the evil at its root, let them all remember that the first condition to be realized is the restoration of Christian morals, without which the means suggested by human prudence as the most efficacious will be little likely to produce salutary results."

As for the assistance of the Church, it will not be wanting. Bishops and priests will everywhere preach the rules of the Christian life and will apply themselves "to foster charity in themselves, and to awaken it in others, for charity is the queen and mistress of all virtues. It is, indeed, to an abundant effusion of charity that we must principally look for salvation. We are speaking of Christian charity, which resumes the entire Gospel and which, ever ready to devote itself to the relief of its neighbor, is a most assured antidote against the immoderate arrogance and self-love of the century; a virtue whose divine attributes and offices the Apostle Paul describes in these words: 'Charity suffereth long, and is kind; . . . seeketh not her own; . . . beareth all things; . . . endureth all things.'"

The impression made by the Encyclical among non-Catholics was a mixture of astonishment and admiration, which manifested itself when the document appeared and has continued steadily to increase. But to Catholics it seemed that a voice had come from heaven to proclaim the way of salvation. They perceived that henceforth their efforts would not be isolated, and that the voice of the Pope, echoing the voice of God, would not return upon its author, but, penetrating all classes of society, would there bring about the transformations and the restorations through Christ which are necessary to the redemption of society.

But the Pope does not limit himself to words. He is the first to put into practice what he teaches as the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Rome is the special object of his solicitude. Besides the countless establishments which make the Rome of the Popes a model of Christian charity, and which continue to subsist amid ever-increasing difficulties, the

hand of Leo XIII protects and efficaciously supports the numerous Catholic schools in Rome, the orphanages and homes which give shelter to hundreds of children of both sexes, and the home kitchens inaugurated by the Circle of Saint Peter, at which thousands of workingmen, suffering from the terrible financial crisis by which Rome is smitten, can obtain a comfortable meal for the small sum of five cents. In connection with this work, the Circle of Saint Peter maintains lodging-houses, where for two and a half cents the homeless can secure a decent and comfortable bed. These lodging houses are kept by the nuns and are supervised by members of the Circle. Before retiring, the evening prayer is repeated in common, a practice which gives to this hospitality the Christian character which, unfortunately, is wanting in similar institutions established in other cities.

But we desire to call the special attention of the reader to the *Primaria associazione artistica ed operaia di carità reciproca,* a mutual benefit association, established by Pius IX, and which has developed greatly under Leo XIII. This social organization, which is absolutely modern in character, numbers over four thousand members, divided into several sections, each of which has its delegates or business council. The sections include all of the artistic professions, all the trades: painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, typographers, employers and workingmen in the clothing trade, in the technical and domestic arts, etc. In 1888 the Holy Father donated to the society a magnificent location at the cost of $100,000. The association concerns itself with all matters of interest to the small employer and the workingman. One department has charge of the subsidies paid to members, especially in cases of sickness. In 1888 this department derived an income of $6,963 from the subscriptions of members and from various donations. It distributed in subsidies to its members $3,709. During the course of the year 9,549 days' wages and 4,324 part days' wages were paid to sick workingmen. The total sum paid to sick workingmen during twenty years amounts to $68,721.10. This department will hereafter supply sick members with medicines free of charge. The spirit of saving was stimulated by the creation of small savings accounts, which, towards the end of 1888, had risen to the number of 7,122, representing a capital of $33,729.15. The association has also established the practice of making loans upon credit. From 1886 to 1890 it had made 580 such loans.

To the institutions which group themselves about the *Associazione artistica ed operaia* must be added the *Societa artistica romana,* established for the construction of homes for workingmen. It is a mixed corporation, well adapted to foster social peace. It enjoys a powerful activity in the commercial and laboring world of Rome.

The simplest and most ancient form of charity, the form which can never be overlooked and which will always be necessary to the regulation of society, is alms. In this, too, Leo XIII preaches by example as well as words. Some base writers have not hesitated to accuse the Pope of avarice. A liberal journal, made indignant by this injustice, of its own accord undertook to reply to these maligners. This is what *La Sera* wrote in 1890: "You assert that the relief money given by Leo XIII has become uncommon. If one were permitted to enumerate the families supported and subsidized by the Pope, one could never finish. Moreover, the alms prescribed by the Pope in behalf of the poor are distributed to the last cent; for the distribution of money appropriated for purposes of charity is in the hands of a bureau of revision, which is so careful and scrupulous that it is impossible to alienate or suppress any of it."

These statements of a liberal journal are confirmed by the statistics of the alms of the Holy Father, compiled in 1890 and published in *Il Cittadino* of Genoa and certificated by the *Osservatore Romano*.

We reprint the statistics:

Ordinary monthly relief	$27,456.72
Extraordinary monthly relief	1,834.80
Monthly relief upon the occasion of religious fêtes	9,747.80
Monthly relief to certain schools	7,625.70
To the Catholic labor society	5,860.00
171 dowries to poor girls	3,420.00
Subsidies to families of former employes of the Pontiff	8,022.00
Subsidies to Pontifical soldiers	5,280.00
To the society for the relief of soldiers and their families	300.00
Alms to the poor of Rome	8,109.00
900 beds	5,355.00
Pharmaceutical dispensatory	1,317.55
To the poor of Castel Gondolfo	322.50
Subsidies to certain religious houses	774.00

These figures are sufficiently eloquent to serve as commentaries. Only let us observe that, if these figures indicate the ordinary benefactions of the Pontiff, there are extraordinary benefactions whose value it would be difficult to estimate.

Two facts will complete the characterization of the social activity of Leo XIII. The reader will remember the heroic devotion of the Abbé Margerin of Fourmies, who thrust himself between the over-

excited workingmen and the soldiers who were about to open fire upon them, thus, at the peril of his life, preventing the massacre of his parishioners. That act symbolized the activity of the Church and the Papacy amid the social discords of our troubled time so well, that Leo XIII desired in some way to be associated with it. Through Cardinal Rampolla and the Archbishop of Cambrai he caused his congratulations to be transmitted to the humble and courageous priest who did not hesitate to confront death in order to serve as a mediator of peace and to prevent another bloody collision. Leo XIII praised and blessed an act glowing with the spirit of charity and sacrifice "inspired by the teaching and example of the divine Founder of our sacred religion."

The other fact which we wish to signalize is the beatification of the young apprentice Nunzio Sulprizio. In 1891, Leo XIII raised this poor laborer, who had been undeservedly persecuted by a barbarous master and who sanctified himself by his heroic patience beneath the burden of a slavish toil, to religious honors. The Pontiff thus gave to oppressed workingmen a protector and a consolation. At the same time he taught them that in seeking their just rights they ought never to forget patience, which is the characteristic Christian virtue.

CHAPTER XX.

(1888-1889.)

Freemasonry and United Italy—The Penal Code of Zanardelli—Legislative Persecution of the Church—Protests of the Episcopate, of Catholics and of the Pope—Prime Minister Crispi Organizes an Academic Propaganda to Oppose the Catholics in the Orient—Its Failure—The Encyclical of the 15th of October, 1890, to the Italians.

THE history of modern Italy is a sad one. Everywhere, in truth, the Church is being the butt of hostile attacks; but nowhere does the conjuration against the Christian name reveal the satanic perfidy it does in Italy. The powers of hell have heard the words of Christ: "*Percute pastorem et dispergentur oves gregis:* Strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered." This must never be lost sight of if we are to understand the things which are taking place in Rome to-day. Herein lies the secret of the conspiracies of Italian unity against the temporal power of the Pope, the sole human guarantee of his spiritual power; herein is the key to the present policy of the Italian government, a policy which is disastrous to the interests of the country, but which is imperiously commanded by the necessity of maintaining against the Pope and the Church the vast machine of war called United Italy.

The artisan of this infernal work is Masonry. Masonry has mined the earth beneath society and religion and caused the wreck of ancient political edifices in order that she might replace them by the pretentious constitutional monarchy, which is to yield to a government even more docile to the lodges.

Until recently she deemed it wise, more or less, to disguise her intentions. But when Francesco Crispi, the liegeman of Freemasonry, held the reins of power she put away her mask, and since the fall of her instrument she has not ceased to proclaim her wishes openly.

Before the elections of 1890, which did not have quite the desired results because it brought about the fall of Crispi, the grand master of Italian Freemasonry, Adriano Lemmi, had designated the end to be sought in the following "plank:"

V.·. OF T.·., October 10, 1890.

To the Venerable Brothers in the Italian Lodges:

The edifice which the FF.·. are on their way to raise in the world

will not be secure until the FF.·. of Italy have presented the *dèbris of the ruin of the great enemy to humanity.*

The enterprise is advancing rapidly in Italy. . . . We have applied the chisel to the last refuge of superstition, and the fidelity of F.·.33.·. who is at the head of the political power (M. Crispi), is our guarantee that *the Vatican will fall beneath our vivifying hammer.*

But it is essential that after the approaching elections at least four hundred FF.·. shall enter the legislative Chamber as deputies. . . . Our final efforts will meet with the greatest obstacles from the side of the priests and their base slaves. . . .

The G.·.O.·. invokes the Genius of humanity to assist all FF.·. to labor with all their might to scatter the stones of *the Vatican* in order that they may be used to build the temple of an emancipated Nation.

THE G.·.O.·. OF THE VALLEY OF THE TIBER.

Thus the destruction of the Papacy is the crowning achievement of the anti-religious movement throughout the world, and its realization appertains to the sectarians of Italy. Toward this end they have already labored by the suppression of the temporal power; now they are to attack, says Lemmi, "the stones of the Vatican." Madman! He uses almost the very words of the Gospel. The stone which he would overthrow is the one of which Christ said: "Upon this rock I shall build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The gates of hell are the assaults of the demon, of that rebellious being which Lemmi calls the Genius of humanity, and to whose power he makes his sacrilegious appeal. But it is written: *Non praevalebunt!* The Genius of humanity will see his efforts shattered against the rock which he thought so soon to overthrow!

As we have said, the sect no longer dissimulates its designs. To accomplish them it has need of an early and a complete victory. Let us read the speech delivered by the grand master, Lemmi, at Bologna during his canvass of Italy in 1892; we shall there find an explicit avowal of everything for which Leo XIII criticises Masonry in his Encyclical against the sect:

"If our public law does not repose upon a secular basis, we shall have no decisive influence upon contemporary civilization. Secularity does not signify that stupid or skeptical indifference which corrupts and kills the body social; no, it signifies the full consciousness of all thought, of all moral and scientific progress. It is an ideal which has its soldiers, a faith which has its martyrs. The Italian State, as F.·. Bovio has said, cannot represent this or that religion. In forming itself it has had to combat all of them and *set the terrestrial city over against the city of God.* When it addresses itself to the people, its language can only be human, the language of science and of law.

"And so this type of secular state will find its incarnation in the school, in the family and in all the manifestations of the public life. Wherefore let us no longer have a sacramental basis for the family. The only sacrament is love. If civil marriage is permitted, it will bring its necessary consequence, divorce, in its train. Why maintain the ministry of cults? Let those who believe in a future life provide for it themselves: if need be let them buy it with indulgences; but the State ought not and cannot serve as mediator. Why continue to tolerate official pomp which obliges atheistical or Jacobin ministers to kneel in places where their country is cursed? But, you will say to me, what you say contemplates a profound revolution in all the functions, in all the orders of the State! Well, even so! That is the road we must travel."

In Italy more than elsewhere the period of hypocrisy has passed for Freemasonry. The teachings of the Popes, especially those of Leo XIII, with reference to this matter, have been entirely justified and the most skeptical will hereafter not be able to tax the Pontifical condemnations with exaggeration.

Moreover, Grand Master Lemmi has seen to it that there shall be no ambiguity as to the end which he is pursuing. His purpose in collecting the speeches which he hawked about from one end of Italy to the other is "to give a sufficiently clear exposition of the ideas and aspirations of the Order," and he hopes thus to recruit some adepts to its ranks, for, according to him, "to cause Freemasonry to be known is to cause it to be loved!"

The statement seems to us rather venturesome in the sinister light which these pages cast upon the actions of the sect in Italy. Let the reader form his own opinion from some illustrations. Here, for instance, is the identification of the Italian fatherland with Freemasonry and the haughtily manifested desire to make use of national sentiment to destroy the Papacy and religion:

"The enemy,"—said Adriano Lemmi at Leghorn, and by the enemy is meant the Pope,—"is ever under arms and on guard; his audacity is fed by the blindness and cowardice of those who ought to bridle it: the houses of the Jesuits are being restored; demonstrations and pilgrimages are being organized; the conspiracy against the integrity of the country daily grows more formidable. Freemasonry needs to oppose this reactionary pressure more resolutely and more openly than ever."

At Genoa the grand master did not recoil from an avowal which up to that time the sect had repelled as an atrocious calumny: the only object in attacking the temporal power of the Pope is to ruin the spiritual influence of the Pontiff;

Principal Hall in the Vatican Library

Gallery of Statues, Vatican.

"Yes, my dear brothers, . . . we need to fight not only against the pretender of the Vatican, which threatens the unity of Italy; but, let us say it openly, against the Pontiff who poses as the paladin of the disinherited classes in order that he may the better subject them to fanaticism, . . . and who, losing sight of the simple dogmas of the Gospel, reveals the idols of ancient superstition. . . . We must wage a provoked war against him! Now that the Order is confronted by an enemy who no longer conceals himself, an enemy who is no longer idle, but who boldly enters the arena of civil conflict, we need not only aspirations but acts."

At Milan, Lemmi strikes more directly at the spiritual power:

"The Papacy, in spite of the fact that it is no longer anything more than a phantom hovering about ruins, still casts a glamor upon the Vatican. It sets up before the world, which it defies, the Cross, the *Theological compendium* and the *Syllabus;* and a countless crowd falls prostrate and adores. There are those who argue from the action of this crowd and its groans that the Papacy is a bulwark against revolution, and that if the world is to enjoy peace it must preserve the Church. What they call peace is servitude. And we who, with all the world, desire peace,—and the brotherhood which is more than peace,—*we desire war against* the clerical and reactionary conspiracy. And it is important that it be a *decisive war.* With clericalism and against Freemasonry are ranged all those who invoke the past; those who are afraid of the great and inevitable transformations of the future. But we have no fear of that coalition; we are used to fight; neither the number nor the power of our enemies will suffice to turn us a hair's breadth from the straight line of our way."

At Bologna, Lemmi adds:

"But he is mad who sleeps in his tent amid the laurels of triumph while the enemy, defeated but not put to rout, recovers his strength."

"It is enough to reproduce these lines," we agree with the *Unità Cattolica* of August 6, 1892, "to make the reader well acquainted with Freemasonry. If this acquaintance will cause it to be loved is another matter. The Popes, and Leo XIII in particular, have stripped it of its mask of philanthropy. But there were still many persons ignorant of its true character; and now Freemasonry discovers itself." Hereafter there will be complete accord between the language of the Pope and that of the sect. On both sides it is declared that the war against the temporal power aims at the spiritual power. Both are agreed that Italy is at present organized as an instrument of war against the Church and the Papacy! May this agreement open the eyes of Catholics who are tempted to consider the demand for the independence of the Holy

See as importunate. The lodge has followed this course: attack the temporal power in order to ruin the spiritual power. Catholics should follow the Pope in the opposite course: defend the temporal power in order to save the spiritual power.

The confessions of the high-orient will facilitate our study of the history of Italy since 1888, and will place both the attitude of the government and that of the Sovereign Pontiff in a true light.

As we have said, M. Crispi, in assuming power, introduced the policy of the lodges. A proof of the fact was very soon given in the promulgation of the penal code to which Minister Zanardelli affixed his name.

This code, it is said, consecrates the highest progress of the science of law. It was submitted to the examination of the most eminent jurisconsults of Europe. It will do honor to Italy in the eyes of other nations who will envy Italy this monument of jurisprudence! Let us grant that this is so. One thing, however, remains certain; the entire interest of the Zanardelli code lies in the following articles:

Article 101. Whoever commits an act destined to submit the State or a part thereof to foreign domination or to *disturb its unity* is punishable with the *ergastulum.*

Ergastulum is a word borrowed from the ancient Romans, among whom it signified the place where slaves did their work. It is defined by Article 11 as follows:

The penalty of the *ergastulum* is perpetual and must be suffered in a special establishment where the convict remains in continual cellular sequestration under obligation to work.

It would have been more frank on the part of the Italian government to label Article 101 thus: All those who plan the reëstablishment of the temporal power of the Pope will be condemned to perpetual forced labor. There you have the secret end of that article and the true reason for its existence. Here you may see how far fear will lead legislators who pretend to frame just laws!

Article 101 is accompanied with other articles destined to forge chains for the clergy. Article 173 punishes with a year's imprisonment and with a fine not to exceed $200 the minister of any cult who publicly attacks "the institutions or laws of the State or the acts of authority,"—a remarkably elastic article which permits the silencing of any preacher who may become annoying.

Article 174 is still more suggestive:

The minister of any cult who, abusing the moral power deriving from his ministry, misrepresents the institutions or the laws of the State, or the acts of authority or of those who are connected with public office, or prejudices patrimonial interests, or disturbs the peace of families,

shall be subject to an imprisonment of from six months to three years, to a fine of from $100 to $600 and to perpetual or temporary prohibition from his ecclesiastical benefice.

One seems to be dreaming while reading the text of such a law, which consecrates the interference of the State in the bestowing of benefices and threatens every priest with the most serious penalties for acts so ill defined that the most innocent and the most holy acts of the sacerdotal ministry may easily be converted into misdemeanors: What, for instance, is meant by *disturbing the peace of families?* and what penal code was ever seen in which a misdemeanor was so vaguely defined?

Article 175 punishes with three months' imprisonment and with a fine not to exceed $3,000 any priest who "performs any religious rites in opposition to the measures adopted by the government." So that if the government adopts a measure interdicting Catholic rites, priests who desire to celebrate the mass or to give absolution will be punished as indicated.

Article 176 augments by a sixth or a third the penalty to be incurred by the minister of a cult "in the exercise or the abuse of his ministry" for any misdemeanor whatever.

With such laws, whenever Masonry acquires sufficient power in Italy, persecution will surpass all the iniquities of the Prussian *Kulturkampf*. Whenever the lodges shall so order, the Pope himself, deprived of the illusory privileges called guarantees, which the law still concedes to him, will be subjected with the rest to the monstrous dispositions of the penal code. What, then, will become of the liberty of the Pope and of the Church throughout the world?

Will the detractors of the temporal power of the Holy See, and the Catholics who are friends of conciliation, tell us what other barrier than the territorial independence of the Pope can be erected against such assaults upon the essential liberties of the Church? Masonry is well aware of what it is doing in concentrating the summum of its efforts in Italy and against the temporal power of the Church. Those who are not aware of what they are doing are the Catholics who criticise the Pope or support him half-heartedly in the supreme claims which he makes in behalf of his liberty, which is the liberty of the entire Church.

As a matter of course, the episcopate straightway denounced the projects of MM. Crispi and Zanardelli. The Chambers received a petition from 102 Neapolitan Bishops protesting against these tyrannical laws. From all the dioceses of Tuscany, Sicily, Umbria, and Piedmont, protests flowed in.

Finally Leo XIII, in the consistorial address of the 1st of June, 1888, energetically rose against these outrages, which, by a refinement

of hatred, came to disturb the glorious celebrations of the sacerdotal jubilee. "The hostile spirit of the sectarians," said the Pope, "has, throughout the jubilee, run riot with an insolence worse than in the past, vomiting threats mingled with insults." The new code "directly violates the rights of the Catholic clergy and indirectly those of the Apostolic See." "Here," continues the Pontiff, "is a resumé of these laws: they invent certain misdemeanors which, they say, attack the country and they do not explain what these misdemeanors are. Likewise, under pretext of obviating the dangers which result from the power of the clergy, they take harsh measures against priests convicted of having performed or inspired any action whatsoever contrary to the laws or civil institutions, or acts of the public power or even against the tranquillity of families or the interest of anybody, it matters not whom." The object of these laws is in the first place to prevent through fear of punishment the assertion of the rights of the Pontiff. Nevertheless those sacred rights, which are so intimately connected with the liberty of the Church, will find defenders everywhere. Italians alone are forbidden to raise their voices in their behalf. This iniquity is the greater because the independence of the Roman Pontiffs "is in no way opposed to the interests of Italy, but on the contrary is most favorable to them, so that those who demand its restoration are not enemies of their country, but its best and most loyal citizens." Moreover, the laws in question constitute a veritable servitude for the Church. "What would have become of the Christian name if the Church had always conformed to popular institutions, and had without distinction obeyed the just and the unjust commands of magistrates?" Then, too, "it is eminently contrary to truth and justice to lay the entire clergy under such serious suspicion without reason. No motive exists to justify these new decrees. When and where have the Italian clergy acted contrary to the public weal and tranquillity?" Far, then, from protecting itself against the injustice of the Church, the State is committing an injustice by proposing "an extraordinary law, one that is deliberately severe, without precise and certain definitions, but couched in vague terms which lend themselves marvelously well to the most arbitrary interpretations. Elsewhere laws have been enacted hostile to the Church "but she has never or in any manner agreed to them." They have usually been the excess of troubled times, and have been revoked with the return of peace or fallen into desuetude.

Leo XIII has no fear of persecution. The Church has weathered other tempests and she has come out of them more fair and more powerful. But it is distressing to him to see "the Church and the Pontificate maliciously attacked in Italy, when the great majority of Italians

are full of reverence for both." Above all he deplores whatever is done "to snatch from the embrace of the Church the people who have been nourished and reared on her bosom. To desire to perpetuate the conflict between the Church and the civil power is a mad wish, one which would be prejudicial to the public weal in any State, but especially so in Italy."

But the protests and the misgivings of the Pontiff did not avail to check a parliament commanded by M. Crispi. He would undoubtedly have preferred to complete his work of iniquity in silence. But if the voice of the Pope and of the Bishops troubled him as the voice of the innocent victim moves the hangman, it did not restrain him from proceeding to the end. The law passed the Chamber on the 6th of June, 1888, with the haste of an evil act, and a few days later it passed the Senate.

At least one indignant protest reached the parliament. Count Castagnetto, a Piedmontese gentleman of ancient race and former Minister of State, courageously denounced his colleagues because of the pernicious way to which they had pledged themselves in 1850, "by the unhappy Siccardi law, which abolished the ecclesiastical courts and the principal guarantees which the royal house of Savoy had conceded to the Church, as the palladium of harmony between the two powers;" and then again in 1870 "by the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope and the transfer of the capital to Rome."

"Just as," continued the illustrious Senator, "I combated the Siccardi law at Turin, by predicting its disastrous consequences, so at Florence I made an effort to have the law of the guarantees rejected; but while, as a matter of conscience, I explained to you the foreseen results of those two laws, I had no hope of triumphing over a sectarian resolution. After that solemn debate and the transfer of the parliament to Rome, I did not think that I should be permitted to sit here and to perform an act of sovereignty. All question of religion apart, I maintain that it would be far more advantageous to Italy to be reconciled to the Apostolic See, and to carry the capital back to the splendid city of Florence."

Those words remained unanswered. The high assembly has long since forgotten the traditions of political wisdom which are the only reason for its existence.

There was no stopping on this delightful road. By the law concerning the public security, also passed in 1888, the administration is authorized to permit collections for charitable or philanthropic purposes; but all other collections, including the collections of religious cults outside of the territory under their jurisdiction, are punishable

with imprisonment, not to exceed one month in duration. The object was, of course, to put a bar upon the generosity of the faithful after having by the articles of the new period overwhelmed the clergy with fines! . . . If it were only possible to appeal to public opinion in protestation meetings; but it is not, for the law has provided against them by placing public gatherings under a close surveillance which makes them in a measure depend upon the pleasure of the police. Here you have the State at last fully armed against the encroachments of the clergy. As for the clergy, it is completely free, . . . in theory, and emancipated Italy marches at the head of the nations in the way of civilization! The most remarkable thing about all this is that the first article of the constitution continues to proclaim that "the apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the State" and that other religions are only to be tolerated in Italy.

Catholics throughout the entire world followed events in Italy with anxious eyes, and the new penal code was severely criticised. This statement is confirmed by the eloquent protest of the Bishops of England:

"We," they said, "who live in a country where the Catholic Church enjoys perfect liberty, are profoundly grieved and offended at the cynical violence with which the sacred rights of the head of the Church are fettered and violated in the very center of his supreme authority. Already the filial devotion of pastors and people in all parts of the world, as well as the liberal and sane public opinion of every civilized nation, has reproved and condemned this penal legislation, and we add our protest to that of the entire civilized world in expressing, with all Catholics, our abhorrence for so great an injustice."

Italian Catholics did not remain inactive amid this universal movement. A petition in behalf of the independence of the Pope was signed by thousands in spite of the desperate efforts of M. Crispi to prevent it. Dismissal, suspension, and all manner of annoyances rained down upon the syndics, teachers and employes who signed this paper which disturbed the serenity of the great minister in the accomplishment of his patriotic work. And M. Crispi gloried in his executions by proclaiming to the Italian Chamber on the 10th of June, 1886, that the State needed to defend itself against a party so active and so dangerous as the clericals. "Between the Vatican and ourselves," he added, "friendship does not and can never exist." The minister was right. What union, in the words of the Apostle, *can exist between light and darkness, and what agreement between Christ and Belial?*

Something would have been wanting to the Masonic character of the Crispi cabinet if he had not established the neutrality of the schools, that touchstone of the activity of the lodges. On the 24th of October,

a decree, issued by the minister of instruction, Boselli, a mild sectarian calling himself the friend of the priests, suppressed religious teaching in the primary schools of Italy, under the pretext that such teaching was beyond the competence of the State.

The demon, it has been said, is the mimic of God. It was natural that the Masonic government of Italy should parody the action of the Church. It was in imitation of the example of the Catholic propaganda of the religious orders and in opposition to it that the government attempted,—*risum teneatis!*—to organize an academic propaganda in the service of Italy in the Orient.

The first step in this enterprise was to discredit the schools which were being maintained by Italian churchmen in Asia. Some of them had been receiving a small subsidy from the government. This gave occasion for sending two functionaries, duly styled inspectors of schools. In their report they accused the Catholic masters of "insinuating into the naïve souls of little children the most antiquated prejudices, religious intolerance, hatred for other races, contempt for the government of Italy," and, who would have thought it? "of perverting their ingenuous hearts." They found, moreover (unpardonable crime!), in a number of compositions "epithets which were offensive to the intelligence of liberals and Freemasons." The impartiality with which the investigation was conducted appears from the statement made by M. Crispi to the Italian Chamber at the sitting of the 20th of June, 1889: "When, after having visited such and such a school directed by Franciscans, they had established the fact that the Franciscans were ill fulfilling their office, they held it useless to visit all the schools of the Order, for it was evident that if the friars were behaving badly in the schools visited, they must be behaving badly in all the other schools."

Nothing further was required to cause the suppression of the subsidy accorded to the Catholic schools and to evoke the dream of establishing in the Orient, by means of Masonic schools, centers of influence worthy of the grandeur of Italy.

Unfortunately, lay pioneers of Italianized civilization are hard to recruit and cost dear. But what mattered that to M. Crispi? Here was an opportunity of expatriating a few Masonic brethren and sisters. Give them a good scholastic prebend in some foreign country and be done with them. Again, what mattered it? The taxpayers would pay the costs, and Masonry would be satisfied. And this, indeed, was done. Money was scattered lavishly and squad after squad of the masters and mistresses of civilization were sent to the astonished populations of Asia Minor.

"We know," said the *Riforma* of the 21st of November, 1888, an organ of Crispi's, "that seventy instructors and instructresses have set out for a destination fixed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, either to establish new colonial schools or to attach themselves to those which already exist. Moreover, a like number are ready to depart at a moment's notice, and still others will follow them until the vast organization of Italian lay institutions adopted by the royal government shall be complete."

A liberal journal in Milan summed up the barrenness of the ministerial project in these words: "The great authority which the missionaries have acquired abroad, and especially in the Orient, depends precisely upon their religious character and upon the fact that in addition to the lessons of the school, they offer instruction in the catechism and preach in the church. They give counsel and consolation at the confessional; they receive the sick in their hospitals; they furnish families with medicines gratuitously; they aid the moribund. . . . How do you expect the little pedants of M. Crispi to do as much?"

In truth, these little pedants will succeed in nothing, unless it be to swell the budget of the mother country. M. Crispi, interpellated in the Chamber of Deputies, refused to give any details concerning the organization of Italian schools in the Orient. It could only be learned that they cost several hundred thousands of francs a year. As for the number of pupils, Deputy Torraca cited the fact that a school which had formerly been attended by 350 children, now that the school was secularized enrolled but thirty.

To complete the evil, the Turkish government did not look favorably upon the civilizing propaganda of M. Crispi and the Sheik ul Islam forbade Mussulmans visiting the schools upon pain of apostasy!

The scheme came to a pitiable end under the ministry of M. di Rudini in 1892. As a result of certain scandalous suits brought against the directors and directresses, "who," said the *Civiltà Cattolica*, "were hardly fit to be chimney-sweeps and mountebanks," the Italian government decided to suppress these lighthouses established amid the darkness of the Orient. Civilization has accordingly to bewail the loss of fifty-five Italian schools in Asia and Africa.

But this failure of the Crispi administration did not restrain the government in its impious persecution of the Church. Every device was resorted to to nullify the beneficent activity of the Holy See in Italy as well as abroad. They did not even hesitate to make a direct attack upon the Holy Father. Spies were stationed about the Vatican, the populace was incited against the clergy, irreligion and profanation were given full sway. On the 15th of October, 1890, Leo XIII again

Church of Notre Dame de Paris.

The Antwerp Cathedral.

addressed himself to Italy to remind her of her duty in the presence of the immense dangers of the religious situation, and in order to be better understood by all, he wrote this Encyclical in the vulgar language.

"If it were only a question of Our own person," he said, "if We did not behold Italy, threatened in her faith, hurrying to her ruin, We should bear the offenses in silence." The Pope then exposes the plan of the sects. "It is not new," he said: "but what is new is the audacity, the fury, the swiftness with which they put it into actual practice;" and he goes on to describe the application of the plan: the overthrow of the temporal power, the abolition of the religious orders, the subjection of ecclesiastics to military service, the destruction of the patrimony of the Church, the persevering action of the State to bring about the secularization of everything.—civil marriage, lay instruction in all the grades. The objection may be offered that these things are done elsewhere. That only proves that the sect is everywhere exercising its sway. But "this application becomes swifter and more general and is carried, moreover, to greater extremes in the countries whose governments are more completely under the influence of the sect, as is the case with Italy. The laws in opposition to the Church and the measures hostile to her are first proposed, decreed, and resolved in sectarian reunions, and it needs only appear that anything will work injury or harm to the Church to have it immediately favored and supported. . . . "The true and real struggle—the government has meritoriously recognized the fact—is the struggle between faith and the Church on the one hand, and free criticism and reason on the other. May the Church continue its reactive effort, its effort to curb the reason and to conquer. As for the government, in this struggle, it has declared openly for reason as against faith, and it considers it its duty to make Italy the evident expression of this reason and this freedom." From these facts and these words Leo XIII concludes that the Italian government favors the accomplishment of the Masonic plan. Then he goes on to expound the desiderata of the lodges in accordance with authentic documents. "The Masonic influence," says the document cited by the Pope, "must make itself felt in all the circumstances of the life of society and must become the mistress and arbiter in all things. Thus will be prepared the way for the abolition of the Papacy; thus Italy will be delivered from its implacable and mortal enemy, and Rome, which in the past has been the center of the universal theocracy, will become the center of universal secularization, whence the *magna charta* of human liberty will be declared before all the world." "Without exaggeration," concludes the Pontiff, "this is the present condition of religion in Italy and this the future foreseen for religion. To dissimu-

late the gravity of the situation would be a grievous error." Then he complains to the Catholic world of the offenses to which the Church and the Pontificate are continually subject, especially in Rome, and he urges that nothing be omitted to preserve the faith in the heart of the Italian people, and he invites the clergy and all Catholics to do their utmost. The whole world should know that the struggle against the Pontificate in Italy is essentially of a religious nature, and that it is the duty of everyone to defend the inestimable treasure of the faith, which must be safeguarded "at the cost of any sacrifice and upon pain of eternal sorrow." Leo XIII enumerates the conditions of the struggle: courage "without ostentation and without timidity," docility and love toward the Church, the Bishops and the Pope, the putting aside "of everything which is the work of the sects or which is inspired by them," and finally a generous support of the Christian works and associations. The Pope especially recommends the Catholic press and reminds the faithful that "it is their duty to support it effectually, by denying their assistance to the recalcitrant press, and by directly concurring, each one in his own degree, in the life and prosperity of the good press, a thing which is not done enough in Italy."

In conclusion, Leo XIII shows how deplorable the actual condition of the peninsula is: "The Masonic sect, however it may affect a spirit of beneficence and philanthropy, cannot exercise an influence other than sinister, precisely because it tends to destroy the religion of Christ, the true benefactress of humanity." He calls attention to the peril in which society stands relative to the socialists, and says "that it is necessary to unite all conservative forces in order to arrest their progress and to prevent their triumph. Among these forces the principal one is that which is at the command of religion. To combat religion is, therefore, to deprive Italy of the most powerful instrument with which to resist an enemy who daily grows more formidable." At home, the war waged against the Pope sinks a profound gulf between official Italy and the majority of Italians, who are truly Catholic, and all division is weakness; it deprives the State of the support of the most genuinely conservative element; it nourishes in the heart of the nation the sinister germs of evil and the gravest retribution. "Abroad, the conflict with the Holy See not only divests Italy of the prestige which would infallibly be accredited to her if she were at peace with the Papacy, but it alienates from her the Catholics of the entire world, imposes immense sacrifices upon her, and upon the slightest occasion may furnish her enemies with a weapon against her."

By contrast with this false and dangerous situation, the Pope develops the picture which Italy would present if she were reconciled with the

Holy See. He discovers the reform of social practices under the influence of religion, the development of the spirit of duty, the facilitated solution of social questions, "public liberty substituted for license and serving good ends only," civil unity and concord reëstablished, a powerful element of order and conservation introduced into public institutions. "By recognizing the rights of the Pontiff, and by placing him anew in a position of real and veritable independence, they would deprive Catholics throughout the world of a motive for considering Italy the enemy of their common Father: for it is exclusively from a sentiment of faith and at the dictate of conscience that they lift their voices with one accord to demand the freedom of the Supreme Shepherd of their souls. . . . Italy, reconciled with the Pontiff and faithful to religion, would resume her glorious march on the road of true progress." As for Rome, "placed anew beneath the pacific and paternal scepter of the Roman Pontiff, she would again become that which Providence and the centuries have made her; that is to say, instead of being shrunk to the rank of the capital of a particular nation, a prey to a dualism at contradiction with her history because of her occupation by two sovereign powers, she would become, as in the past, the capital of the Catholic world, magnificent with the majesty of religion and the supreme priesthood, mistress and model of civilization for all peoples." It is therefore to calumniate "Catholics and the Pontiff to denounce them as the enemies of Italy and the allies of subversive parties."

These expressions of pure patriotism illumined by reason would have disarmed adversaries who were dealing in good faith. But they are blind men who obstinately close their eyes to the light. The rulers of Italy, no matter to what party they may belong, either adhere to the sect or obey it. They lead her along the downward road whose fatal end is the merciless persecution of the Church and the Papacy. The Sovereign Pontiff, whose vision is far-seeing and just, cannot lend his hand to their hellish projects. A Pope reconciled with Italy as Italy is now constituted, would be a tool of the Lodge; that is to say, the very negation of the Papacy. That would be contradiction in terms, and neither Leo XIII nor any one of his successors would ever consent to a conciliation so monstrous. The only real guarantee against the total overthrow of the order designed by God is full independence, and up to the present time the only safeguard of such independence which has been discovered is the true sovereignty over a stipulated territory.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Religious Situation in the United States—President Cleveland and Leo XIII—The University in Washington—The Academic Question—Mgr. Ireland and the Schools at Faribault and at Stillwater—The Decision of Rome—Letters of Cardinal Ledochowski and of Mgr. Ireland—Brief of Leo XIII to the Bishops of the Province of New York—Propositions of Mgr. Satolli (November 17, 1892)—Doctrinal Bearing of the Decisions of Rome—The Question of Immigrants—Report of the Catholic Congress of Lucerne and the Petition to the Holy See—Opposition which these Documents Encountered in America—Speech of Senator Davis—Letters of Cardinal Rampolla and of Cardinal Ledochowski.

N STUDYING the acts of Leo XIII one cannot help admiring the great variety of interests which occupy the attention of the Pope. It is a heavy burden, this *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum,* beneath which the shoulders of the Doctor of the nations bends and which the Roman Pontiffs have to carry.

The ancient Orient, aged Europe, the infant peoples of Africa and Australia, all races claim the solicitude of Leo XIII, all appeal to his direction, and the Pope, with a wisdom equal to his charity, finds an appropriate remedy and an opportune relief for all of them. At the side of the immobile churches of the Orient, into which Leo XIII is breathing a life that may resuscitate them, there stand the young and vigorous churches of America, whose needs are of quite another kind, threatened as they are by dangers of an entirely different order.

The United States, that new nation which is astonishing the world with its progress, could not but attract the attention of such a Pope as Leo XIII. In all the exuberance of youth, the American people have the virtues and the faults of their age. If well directed, the vast forces at their disposition will grow to be an instrument of incalculable power for the propagation of good.

From a religious point of view, in particular, the situation in the United States inspires great hopefulness. Side by side with the indifference which has taken possession of many persons interested only in the commercial side of life, there exists in the American people, not only an entire absence of hostility to the Christian idea and a real respect for religion, but a vague longing to believe and an increasing

distaste for the materialism of everyday life. A multitude of Protestant sects, mutually at war, yield this vague religious craving but an imperfect satisfaction, and in the presence of these divided churches, ill organized and inconsistent in their dogmatic and moral teaching, the Catholic Church appears with the advantage procured to it by the authority of its hierarchy and the fervor of the faithful, whose number, already great, is being steadily increased by immigration.

It must follow that the outlook for the Church in the great American Republic is favorable. The truth is, putting aside all exaggeration of loss, the number of Catholics is growing in number and in power and that their religion is the most extensively followed and the best organized. The Church, then, does enjoy a relative preponderance in the United States, even though it has some defections to regret, due to its inadequacy of the supply of priests.

The attitude of benevolent neutrality maintained by the government toward the Church, the great liberty extended to the Church in its organization and its governance according to its own laws, constitute a state of affairs which, amid a people so divided in religious point of view, may be considered as very favorable to Catholicism,—by far more favorable, certainly, than the situation brought about in the majority of the States of Europe by a narrow and mischief-making anti-clericalism.

Nothing more clearly reveals the relations which subsist between the civil power and the Catholic Church in the United States than that which occurred during the sacerdotal jubilee of Leo XIII. President Cleveland presented to the Pope a richly bound copy of the Constitution of the United States, as if to attest that this Constitution and the power which emanates from it are in no wise hostile to the Church. In order to further accentuate the significance of his act of homage the President requested Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, to convey his gift to His Holiness with the expression of personal regard from the head of the State. Leo XIII replied to the American deputation which transmitted to him the letter of the Cardinal and the gift of the President in the following cordial words: "As the Archbishop of Philadelphia has said, in your country you enjoy liberty in the true sense of the word, guaranteed as it is by that Constitution of which you have given me a copy. In America religion is ever free to extend the empire of Christianity, and the Church to develop its beneficent activity. . . . Your country has before it a future full of hope, your government is strong and the character of your President excites my most lively admiration."

In a country ridden by religious sects, a prime necessity is the formation of an instructed clergy and one capable of confronting the adversaries of religion on whatever ground it may be attacked. It was this conviction that impelled the Bishops of the United States of America to found a university destined to be the center of high intellectual culture in the great Republic. Nothing could have been more agreeable to Leo XIII. He accordingly eagerly encouraged the episcopate in the realization of its project. "I desire," he said to Mgr. Keane, the future rector of the university in Washington, "I desire that the university be founded with American resources and directed by American intelligence; and if for the moment you should find it necessary to call upon foreign professors in behalf of your faculties, you will do this with the intention of developing the national talent and of shaping professors capable of constituting little by little indigenous faculties worthy of the name which the university bears."

The Bishops opened a subscription for the establishment of a university fund. "Our intention," they said, "is not to take money from those whose resources are already absorbed by the necessities of local charity, but rather to address ourselves to the relatively rich. . . . We especially ask for the contributions of priests. Would it be expecting too much of each priest to give an hundred dollars for so noble an end?" The desired sum was secured, and on the 7th of March, 1889, the day of the Feast of Saint Thomas, Leo XIII was able to confer canonic institution upon the new university.

The solemn opening of the new school took place in November, 1889, and coincided with the centennial celebration of the introduction of the Catholic hierarchy into America. The Papal delegate, Mgr. Satolli, and President Harrison honored the ceremony with their presence.

The centennial of which we have spoken was celebrated with extraordinary splendor in Baltimore. It furnished a spectacle of the actual power of Catholicism in young America, and a prophecy of the development which it is called to make there in the future.

The night procession which concluded the celebration caused a sensation. Columns of men, six and eight abreast, stepping firmly and carrying candles, marched through the streets of Baltimore. The line of societies and of parishes, with their banners, was three hours in passing. Sixty bands of music filled the air with their triumphal accord. The mounted police formed the escort of honor, and decorated and illuminated carriages, in which the ecclesiastical directors of the Catholic societies were seated, augmented the solemnity of the spectacle. Thus in free America Catholic pomp may show itself without encounter-

ing obstacles, beneath the benevolent eyes of the authorities and of the population. A great lesson for a number of so-called Catholic countries in Europe!

Archbishop Ryan, in an eloquent sermon, admirably showed the influence which the Catholic religion is destined to exercise in the United States, even in a political direction. "History will declare," he said, "that the unity and the marvelous catholicity of the Church have been of greatest assistance in perpetuating our political union. The greater the diversity of the elements which compose a country and a Church, the greater should be the forces which hold them together. In other words, religious unity and catholicity are two things necessary to the maintenance of political unity and catholicity." And it is for this reason, let us add, that republics which lack this religious unity and catholicity are deprived of the sole element capable of giving them that surety of cohesion necessary to every well-regulated State, but more necessary still to the republican form of government, whose tendency is toward decentralization,—centrifugal, they say, in scientific parlance,—and consequently opposed to cohesion.

In the Catholic congress held by the American laity on the occasion of the celebration at Baltimore, an order of the day was voted in behalf of the liberty of the Holy See. Of the motions which were proposed the following was adopted: "We cannot conclude without solemnly asserting our firm conviction that the liberty of the Holy See is absolutely indispensable to the peace of the Church, and at the same time to the well-being of the human family. We therefore request, in the name of humanity and of justice, that that liberty be scrupulously respected by all secular governments. We protest against the arrogation by any government whatsoever of the right to harm the interests or to fetter the activity of our Holy Father the Pope, by means of whatever legislation, or of whatever public act disapproved by him. To the worthy Pontiff, Leo XIII, in whose hands the Almighty has placed the helm of the barque of Peter, amid the tempests of our troubled times, we promise and give assurance of the sincere sympathy and unlimited aid of all his spiritual sons in reclaiming that liberty which he justly demands as a sacred and inalienable right."

The progress of the Church in the United States must not lead us to forget the neutrality of the public schools, whence proceeds as a necessary consequence, in America as elsewhere, indifferentism and naturalism. It must not lead us to forget that there the young generations are growing up in ignorance of religious truths. Some Protestant sects themselves have taken alarm and have pronounced against the neutral public school. The Catholic Church cannot afford to be less

clairvoyant than they. She has taken a stand, through the organs of the Bishops and the voice of the Pope, against the direction given to the education of the young by the federal law. This law may be summarized in two sentences: Liberty of instruction is complete in the United States; but in order to enjoy State aid, the schools must submit to the high direction and to the inspection of a *school board,* chosen by the people, and they must, further, eliminate from their programs all profession of faith.

In order to rescue Catholic youth from the pernicious effects of this dangerous régime, the Third Council of Baltimore, held at the instigation of Leo XIII and prepared at Rome beneath the very eyes of the Pontiff by the Archbishops of the United States, ordered the creation of parochial schools wherever possible. After having affirmed that purely secular education tends by its very nature to become irreligious, as experience proves, the Fathers of the Council prescribed the foundation of a Catholic school in every diocese not already in possession of one, and that within the space of two years. They declared that the priest who failed to erect a school within the designated time, would be guilty of grave negligence. They obliged parents to send their children to Catholic schools by placing the valuation of excuses in the hands of the Bishops.

A great impulse was given to the creation of schools by the action of this Council, and Catholics did not stop at any sacrifice to organize as completely as possible, Catholic primary instruction. The reader will therefore understand the surprise with which the faithful learned, in 1891, that Mgr. Ireland, Archbishop of Saint Paul (Minnesota), had entered into a special arrangement with the civil authorities relative to the schools in Faribault and Stillwater. By virtue of this arrangement, these schools passed from the direction of the episcopate to that of the school board. On December 14, 1901, Mgr. Ireland announced that the schools be directed, "during class hours, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the school board, which concern professors and students."

From the moment that this arrangement became public it provoked, in spite of the respect due to the episcopal authority, a loud outcry. Principles, it was said, had been sacrificed, the decrees of Baltimore hurled to the ground, the future of the scholastic movement compromised forever.

A more attentive consideration of all the circumstances of the act would have caused its nature to be better understood. It would have been necessary to recall the principle which dominates the entire public school question. That principle is that the neutral public school is an

immediate danger to souls, in so much as it exposes them to the loss of faith. If this danger could be removed, if, in a particular case, it might even be entirely eliminated, it would be permissible, for serious reasons, to tolerate the neutral school in these special cases. But even then the neutral school cannot be a good thing. It is one of those things which one tolerates in default of something better, in fear of worse.

Did Mgr. Ireland pretend to be weighing a principle? Not at all. He only intended to adjust a situation of an altogether special nature. This is how the situation presented itself, according to the most authoritative interpreters of the thought of the Archbishop of Saint Paul.

The narrow resources of the Catholics in the infant diocese of Saint Paul did not permit them to share in the support of numerous schools. The schools at Faribault and at Stillwater were in danger of dissolution and the Catholics, forced to impose upon themselves heavy sacrifices for the maintenance of these schools, were constrained to abandon other works of religion and of the Propaganda, which would have given new impetus to the development of religion in those regions. Mgr. Ireland thought that there was a way of reconciling these opposing interests by rendering the neutrality of the schools at Faribault and at Stillwater inoffensive. To this end he resorted to the following course: In the first place, he intrusted the superior direction of the schools to the school board for one year only, after having obtained the assurance that during this year the nuns who were teaching in the schools would be retained in their positions. It is true that the nuns were required to observe neutrality during class hours and were not permitted to recite their prayers; but nothing interfered with their making up for the loss outside of the class room. And what was this vaunted "neutrality" after all except a mere word? In a multitude of things it becomes necessary to express opinions in conformity with or in hostility to religion. Now it is certain that the nuns of the diocese of Saint Paul, in spite of the neutrality to which they were obliged to adhere, never taught anti-Catholic doctrine. It is true also that religious emblems were prohibited, but it was possible to reintroduce them as objects of art. A Christ of Michael Angelo, a Madonna of Raphael or of Fra Angelico are artistic objects which a neutral school board would be careful not to discard. As for Christian doctrine, it was taught outside of the official school hours, but in the school building. Undoubtedly Article 4 of the Belgian school law of 1879 said the same thing; but, in Belgium, the law had been devised as an instrument of war to be maneuvered by anti-religious teachers against the faith of the children. At Faribault and at Stillwater, on the contrary, Catholic instructresses took possession of the

instrument of war and turned it against impiety. The Bishops of Belgium were therefore right in resisting with all their energy a régime destined to ruin the faith in their country, and the Archbishop of Saint Paul was not wrong in utilizing that régime in two special cases, where no harm could be done, and where it thus became possible to do good in another quarter.

The discussion on this phase of the school question became so heated that the affair was submitted to the judgment of Rome. The Holy See, after having given the question a mature examination, rendered the following decision through a special congregation of the Propaganda, held on the 21st of April, 1892:

Upon the question: What judgment should be passed upon the arrangement adopted by the Archbishop Ireland relative to the two schools of Faribault and Stillwater, the members of the Congregation have decided that the answer must be given:

Affirmatively, and: The decrees of the Council of Baltimore subsist in full force, and the convention concluded by the R. P. Ireland may, all the circumstances being weighed, be tolerated.

The Very Holy Father has deigned, in his audience of this same day, April 21st, to approve the above decision of the Most Eminent, the Members of the Congregation.

✠ Ignacius, Archbishop of Damietta,
Secretary.

The bearing of this decision was explained by Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda, in a letter addressed to the Bishops of the United States on the 3rd of May, 1892.

The Cardinal therein recalled the origin of the conflict, the acts of the Propaganda and of the Third Council of Baltimore relative to the schools, and especially the canon by which the Fathers of the Council "decided very wisely that, near to every church, in each one of the dioceses, schools shall be established where the children of Catholic families shall be educated, under the authority and the direction of ecclesiastical pastors, in belles-lettres and the things of the mind as well as in religion and good morals." It was supposed that principles and the regulations established by the Council had been abandoned in the Faribault-Stillwater affair and there were those who, "resting their opinions upon those eminently wise statutes, did not hesitate to blame the conduct of the Archbishop of Saint Paul in the two cases above mentioned as not being in conformity with them; others, on the contrary, thought that his conduct was motivated by weighty reasons, and in no wise in opposition to the decrees. Thence has arisen a lively discussion: coals have unfortunately been heaped upon the fire by the

polemics of the daily press, and the opinions of the Bishops in this affair are neither concordant nor unanimous." Consequently the Holy See, having evoked the affair before his tribunal and having confided the examination to a special commission of Cardinals chosen from the number in the Propaganda, the commission, having regard for the circumstances under which the convention was concluded, rendered the judgment cited above.

The Cardinal then exhorts the Bishops to concord and declares that measures will be taken to provide for the situation of Catholic children forced to attend the public schools.

The decree of the Propaganda and the letter of Cardinal Ledochowski did not quiet all discussion. One party attempted to give to the *tolerari posse* a sense implying a disapprobation of the act of Mgr. Ireland. A note in the *Osservatore Romano* pronounced against these interpretations. But the *Civiltà Cattolica* having insisted upon the restrictive sense of the formula used by the Congregation, Mgr. Ireland called the attention of the Secretary of State to the matter, with the remark that inasmuch as the *Civiltà Cattolica* passed for one of the organs of the Holy See in doctrinal questions, it would be well authentically to establish that the Vatican was a stranger to the article in point. Cardinal Rampolla replied that as a matter of fact the article had been published without previous agreement with the Vatican and upon the sole responsibility of the editor of the review. We may add that, a short time afterwards, the Secretary of State addressed a letter to the editor of the Roman review in which, after having praised his orthodoxy and his zeal in the defense of religion, he expressed regret at the attacks which had been made upon the review during the recent controversy. Nevertheless it remained clear that the intention of the Holy See in the *tolerari posse* was not hostile to the act of Mgr. Ireland. This became still more evident after the exchange of letters between the Archbishop of Saint Paul and Cardinal Ledochowski. This correspondence is of a nature to throw some light upon the sense of the convention of the diocese of Saint Paul and the decision of the Propaganda.

The letter of Mgr. Ireland upon the subject is so interesting that we cannot refrain from quoting its principal passages:

Most Eminent Sir:

The decision rendered by the commission of five Cardinals of the Propaganda, and approved by the Holy Father, which Your Eminence has deigned to transmit to me in a flattering letter, has filled my Bishop's soul with joy and gratitude.

This act is, in truth, a work of light and opportune wisdom. It answers admirably to the new needs of the Church in the United States.

The education of youth is our work par excellence. The decrees of the Council of Baltimore are the speaking expression of our efficacious love and our tender solicitude for the little ones in our spiritual band.

But the decrees of that assembly have outlined the rule to be followed only under general and ordinary circumstances. The decision of the Holy See upon the facts relative to the schools in Faribault and Stillwater will be our practical code for certain special cases, in which, in order to attain our end of moral and intellectual conquest, we are obliged to serve ourselves of the means which circumstances place under our control. Hereafter the American episcopate will have in its possession a complete map for its guidance in scholastic matters. For this, I bless Leo XIII, Your Eminence and your illustrious coadjutors.

To be enabled to have before one's eyes the decision of the commission of the Cardinals in cases where the creation and maintenance of independent parochial schools is impossible or presents too many difficulties; to be enabled to guard the purity of the divine charge and all the inflexibility of the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, and, at the same time, to be placed in a position to multiply our centers of scholastic influence, and to give religious instruction to an ever-increasing number of children: this is the benefit which Rome has bestowed upon our Church of America.

In view of these facts, I congratulate myself a thousand times for having come to Rome to see Peter, and for having requested the judgment of my chief upon the scholastic problems which had arisen in my diocese.

May Your Eminence deign to accept the expression of the high esteem and affection with which I have the honor to remain your devoted servant,

JOHN IRELAND,
Archbishop of Saint Paul.

In his reply under date of May 21st, Cardinal Ledochowski ratified the interpretation which the Archbishop of Saint Paul had placed upon the decision of Rome and gave pledges that peace would now be completely reëstablished. "I like to hope," said the Cardinal, "that the overexcited emotions which have been stirred in your country and elsewhere by this affair will be composed, and that the inexact interpretations of this or that organ, which may still resent the disturbance, will be ineffectual in the presence of the legitimate interpretation contained in my official letter and which your letter, to which I am now replying, faithfully reproduces. May Heaven grant that the silence of peace and Christian understanding will promptly replace the deplorable agitation which saddens all of us."

But the minds of men had been too greatly inflamed to make so prompt a return of calm possible. It became necessary for Leo XIII to raise his voice to secure the desired peace. On the 24th of May, His Holiness addressed to the Bishops of the Province of New York a brief, in which, after having felicitated these Prelates upon their zeal, and given witness to the joy and hope with which the progress of the Church in the United States inspired him, the Pope revealed his distress

at the controversies born of the convention concluded between Mgr. Ireland and the civil authorities relative to two "among the numerous parochial schools established in that diocese." Leo XIII declared that he had caused the question to be maturely studied and that the controversy had been resolved with full knowledge of the cause. Finally the Pope met the objection of those who pretended that, in order to obtain the *tolerari posse,* the Roman judges had been persuaded to believe that America was threatened with religious persecution in case that their decision should be unfavorable to Mgr. Ireland's point of view. Leo XIII affirmed "that in so much as neither that venerable brother nor anyone else had mentioned this peril, it is clear that the Bishops of the Province of New York were induced into a vain and false opinion by an untrue rumor." "We desire," continued the Pope, "that the decrees of Baltimore concerning parochial schools shall be religiously observed, but it is the property of all general laws that, if something special and unexpected occurs, equity may engage to tolerate a fact which falls beyond the letter of the law. We have readily persuaded ourselves that this was the case here, and We felt it necessary to judge the matter according to the counsels of prudence and moderation rather than according to the rigor of the law." Leo XIII then said that there is not a single Bishop in the United States who does not condemn the public schools and advocate the parochial schools. The Bishops would feel it their duty to turn Catholic children away from the schools in which they will receive no religious instruction and in which their morality will be endangered. He expressed the hope that the civil authorities may comprehend the necessity of enacting laws giving assurance to Catholics, who carry their share of the expense of public instruction, that they will be given an education compatible with their religion. He expressed his confidence in the equity of Americans, and declared his hope that in the United States that Catholic parents shall not be obliged to support colleges and schools of which they cannot avail themselves for the education of their children.

On the 31st of May, 1893, the Holy Father addressed himself to Cardinal Gibbons on the subject of the Apostolic Delegation, Mgr. Satolli having been named delegate:

To Our Beloved Son, James Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Titular of St. Mary's Beyond the Tiber, Archbishop of Baltimore, and to Our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States of North America, Pope Leo XIII:

Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

We have frequently given manifest proofs, both of Our solicitude for the well-being of the faithful people and the Bishops of the United States of America and of the peculiar affection with which we cherish that portion of our Savior's flock. Of this We now give an additional and unmistakable evidence in sending to you, as Our Delegate, our Venerable Brother Francis, Titular Archbishop of Lepanto, an illustrious man, and one who is not less preëminent for his learning than for his virtues, as you yourselves, in the recent meeting of the Archbishops in New York, clearly testified, thus confirming the trust which We had reposed in his prudence.

Now, his legation had this end in view: That it should, in the first place, be a public testimonial of Our good will towards your country, and of the high esteem in which We hold those who administer the government of the Republic; for he was to participate, in Our name, in the dedication of the World's Fair held in the city of Chicago, to which We Ourselves, at the courteous invitation of the Directors, have contributed.

But his legation had this also in view: That Our presence should be made, as it were, perpetual among you by the establishment of a permanent Apostolic Delegation in Washington. By this act We have manifestly declared to you not only that We love your country with a love equal to that with which We cherish those most flourishing countries to which We have been accustomed to send representatives vested with Our authority, but, also, that We ardently desire that the ties of mutual relationship binding you and your faithful people to Us, as children to their Father, should be drawn closer day by day. Nor was it of little comfort to Our heart that this new manifestation of Our care for you was followed by a general outpouring of gratitude and affection toward Us.

Now, in Our paternal solicitude for your welfare, We had, above all things, commanded the Archbishop of Lepanto to use all his endeavors and the utmost skill of his fraternal charity to extirpate all the germs of dissension bred by the too well known controversies concerning the proper instruction of Catholic youth,—a dissension which was developed by various writings published on both sides of the dispute. This command of Ours Our Venerable Brother fully obeyed, and in the month of November of last year he repaired to New York, where there had assembled with you, beloved Son, all the other Archbishops of your country, in compliance with the desire which I had communicated to them through the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, that, after having conferred with their suffragans, they should join counsel and

deliberate concerning the best method of providing for those Catholic children who attend the public instead of the Catholic schools.

The things which you wisely decreed in that meeting were pleasing to the said Archbishop of Lepanto, who bestowed deserved praise upon your prudence, and expressed his belief that these decrees would prove most useful. This opinion We, also, with great pleasure confirm, and to yourself and to the other Prelates then assembled, We give merited praise for having thus opportunely responded to Our counsel and Our expectation. But, at the same time, Our said Venerable Brother, wishing, according to Our desire, to adjust the questions concerning the right instruction of Catholic youth, about which, as above stated, controversy was being waged and writings published with excited minds and angry feelings, laid before you certain propositions drawn by himself, touching both the theoretical principles involved in the subject and their practical application. When the meeting of the Archbishops had seriously weighed the significance and bearing of these propositions and had requested certain declarations and corrections in them,—all this the Archbishop of Lepanto gladly complied with, which, being done, the distinguished assemblage closed its sessions with a declaration of gratitude and of satisfaction with the way in which he had fulfilled the commission entrusted to him by Us. All this We find *in the minutes of the meeting, which you have been careful to send Us.*

But these propositions of Our Delegate having been inopportunely made public, minds were at once excited and controversies started afresh, which, through false interpretations and malignant imputations scattered abroad through the newspapers, grew more widespread and more serious. Then certain Prelates of your country, whether displeased with the interpretations put upon some of these propositions or fearing the injury to souls which it seemed to them might thence result, confided to Us the reason for their anxiety. And We, knowing that the salvation of souls is the supreme law to be ever assiduously borne in mind by Us, desiring, moreover, to offer you another proof of Our solicitous affection, requested that each of you should, in a private letter, fully open his mind to Us on the subject, a request which was diligently complied with by each of you. From the examination of these letters it became clear to Us that some of you found in the propositions no reason for apprehension, while to others it seemed that the propositions partially abrogated the disciplinary law concerning schools enacted by the Council of Baltimore, and they feared that the diversity of interpretations put upon them would engender sad dissension, which would prove detrimental to the Catholic schools.

After carefully weighing the matter, We are thoroughly convinced that such interpretations are quite alien from the meaning of Our Delegate, as they are assuredly far from the mind of the Apostolic See. For the principal propositions offered by him were drawn from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and especially declare that Catholic schools are to be most sedulously promoted, and that it is to be left to the judgment of the Ordinary to decide, according to the circumstances, when it is lawful and when unlawful to attend the public schools. Now, if the words of any speaker are so to be construed that the latter part of his discourse shall be understood to agree, and not to disagree, with what he had said before, it is surely unbecoming and unjust so to explain his later utterances as to make them disagree with the foregoing ones. And this is the more true since the meaning of the writer was in no wise left obscure. For, while presenting his propositions to the distinguished meeting in New York, he expressly declared (*as is evident from the minutes*) his admiration for the zeal manifested by the Bishops of North America in the most wise decrees enacted by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore for the promotion of the Catholic instruction of the young. He added, moreover, that these decrees, in so far as they contain a general rule for action, are *faithfully* to be observed, and that, although the public schools are not to be entirely condemned (since cases may occur, as the Council itself had foreseen, in which it is lawful to attend them), still every endeavor should be made to multiply Catholic schools and to bring them to perfect equipment. But in order that, in a matter of such grave importance, there may be no further room for doubt or for dissension of opinion, as We have already declared in Our letter of the 23rd of May of last year to Our venerable brethren, the Archbishop and the Bishops of the Province of New York, so We again, as far as need be, declare that the decrees of the Baltimore Councils, agreeably to the directions of the Holy See, have enacted concerning parochial schools, and whatever else has been prescribed by the Roman Pontiffs, whether directly or through the Sacred Congregations, concerning the same matter are to be steadfastly observed.

Wherefore, We confidently hope (and your devotion to Us and to the Apostolic See increases Our confidence) that, having put away every cause of error and of all anxiety, you will work together, with hearts united in perfect charity, for the ever wider spread of the Kingdom of God in your immense country. But while industriously laboring for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls entrusted to your care, strive also to promote the welfare of your fellow-citizens and to prove the earnestness of your love for your country so that they

Cathedral, Florence.

Milan Cathedral.

who are entrusted with the administration of the government may clearly recognize how strong an influence for the support of the public order and for the advancement of the public prosperity is to be found in the Catholic Church.

And as for yourself, beloved Son, We know for certain that you will not only communicate to Our other venerable brethren in the United States this Our mind which it has seemed good to Us to make known to you, but that you will also strive with all your power to the end that the controversy being not only calmed, but totally ended, as is so greatly to be desired, the minds which have been excited by it may peacefully be united in mutual good will.

Meanwhile, as a pledge of Our affection, We most lovingly in the Lord bestow upon you, and upon Our said venerable brethren, and upon the clergy and faithful people entrusted to your care, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, on the 31st day of May, in the year 1893, the sixteenth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII, *Pope.*

This very paternal and pacifying letter of the Pontiff had the desired effect. After the reunion of the Archepiscopate which took place at Chicago, Cardinal Gibbons, on the 31st of October, wrote to His Holiness to present to him "the felicitations and the thanksgiving" of all the metropolitans.

"All of them," continued the Cardinal, "have given their hearty assent to the ideas of Your Holiness expressed in that letter, as is befitting the children of the Catholic Church; all are convinced that peace and concord have already to a great extent been reëstablished by that letter, the judgment of the Holy See having been well received by all those who judge of things sanely and justly."

This reply is worthy of the illustrious prelates in whose name it was composed, worthy also of the great American people, too generous and of too practical a turn of mind to delay a great while amid Byzantine discussions. *Go ahead!* Such is the cry of the American, and this motto will, we are confident, find a more and more perfect realization in the development of Catholicism in the United States.

In the presence of what we have just said, one is justified in asking why the Faribault incident excited such violent emotion in the United States? The reader will be unable to comprehend it if he does not bear in mind the importance which the question of the nationality of immigrants has recently acquired in the Republic. For many years the majority of them have belonged to the German nationality. The German Catholic immigrants enjoy a very complete and very solid or-

ganization. In the United States parishes, properly so called, do not exist, but congregations of the faithful are formed frequently grouped, according to circumstances, about the same pastor. Now, the ecclesiastical authorities have in no wise been opposed to the formation of congregations composed of German immigrants: on the contrary they favor them, and thus numerous German churches are established, having their own parochial schools where instruction is ordinarily given in German. The priests charged with the direction of these schools attach great importance to the maintenance of a close cohesion within their congregations, and to the conservation of the German language and German customs, which they look upon as a safeguard of the faith of their flocks. They do not always discover a very lively desire to conform to their counsels. The sons of the immigrants are rapidly Americanized. If, in addition to this, they grow wealthy, they cease to reside in the poor immigrant quarter and to send their children to the German parochial school. The attendance at the parochial school has, however, been made obligatory until the first communion. The German clergy were alarmed at the tendency of the immigrants to abandon the national Church; they feared the disorganization of the congregations which had been established with very great labor and equally great perfection. In 1886 they proposed to the Propaganda that no German or son of a German should be permitted to depart from his parish without the *exeat* of his Bishop, but that proposition was not adopted.

The easily comprehensible solicitude of the German priests for the maintenance of their congregations was looked at askance by certain American citizens. In Wisconsin a law was passed to thwart this solicitude. The Bennett law forbid the employment by business firms of any child who had not spent four years in a school where the instruction was given in English, during at least thirteen weeks in the year. This legislative decree met with lively opposition among the Germans. Catholics and Lutherans united to combat it. The general attention of the United States was attracted to this conflict, and minds became considerably heated for or against the Germans.

It was at this time that the Faribault incident occurred. Mgr. Ireland was known as a zealous partisan of the best Americanism. People discovered in his attitude the intention systematically to extend, throughout America, the solution which he had introduced in the two schools of his diocese. This would have involved the ruin of the German schools, for the official program does not include instruction in the German language, and the school once destroyed, how would it have been possible to perpetuate those flourishing congregations, where the immigrant was wont to find, as in an image of their own country, respect

for the religious traditions of their fathers? This was one of the principal causes of the opposition which Mgr. Ireland encountered. To this must be added the fear for the future of Catholic instruction in general, and it will not be difficult to comprehend that, personal questions assisting, it has been difficult to form an equitable judgment upon the points at litigation.

The Holy See, elevated above all particular and personal considerations and assisted by divine inspiration, is alone in a position to decide these questions, where so many diverse interpretations and so many highly respectable interests jostle one another. From Rome has come and will always come more abundantly the light which, in clarifying all things, pacifies the spirits of men.

While the scholastic question was raging, another burning question and one intimately related to the first arose to agitate and impassion public opinion in America during the years 1891 and 1892. We desire to speak of the question relative to the religious care which should be given to the immigrants of the various European races other than the English, who annually pour into the United States.

The Society of Saint Raphael for the protection of emigrants, which has been organized in the principal countries of Europe, devotes itself with exemplary zeal to the religious, moral and material interests of these emigrants. At the head of the committees of this Society stand the most distinguished names of the European aristocracy, and those of the most active and the most devoted Catholics, such as the Prince of d'Isenburg-Bierstein, the Prince of Schwartzenberg, Count Merode, the Marquis of Volpe Landi, etc. Thoroughly acquainted with the needs of emigrants, and familiar with the dangers they encounter and the losses to the Catholic faith which the circumstances amid which they are placed produce, the principal members of the Society of Saint Raphael, assembled in congress at Lucerne in April, 1891, resolved, in a report addressed to Cardinal Rampolla, to indicate the points which, according to them, demanded the special attention of the Holy See, and upon which measures needed to be taken to safeguard the religious interests of emigrants. This report, signed by M. Cahensly, Secretary General of the Society of Saint Raphael in Germany, and by the Marquis of Volpe Landi, President of the Italian branch of the same society, is a serious and documentary work in which are pointed out a number of gaps in the organization of Catholic America with reference to the emigrants. Unfortunately, having nothing in view but the welfare of their protégés, who are undoubtedly very interesting and worthy of assistance, the editors of the report ran counter to American sentiment

at a number of points, and expressed certain propositions of doubtful opportuneness and which lent themselves to misinterpretation.

The report begins with the following assertion: "Estimates, based upon the most authoritative statistics, establish the fact that immigrants and the sons of immigrants should constitute a Catholic population of twenty-six millions in the United States. Now, the truth is that the number of Catholics in that country does not surpass ten millions. There has, then, been a net loss of sixteen millions sustained by Catholicism in the United States up to the present." (The Archbishops of the United States authoritatively protested against this assertion in a joint letter addressed to the Holy Father in their conference of November, 1892.)

The report indicates six causes which, according to these authors, have resulted in this very considerable loss, to wit:

"1. The absence of adequate protection for emigrants at the moment of departure, during the voyage and upon arrival in America;

"2. The insufficiency of priests and of parishes proper to each of the immigrant peoples;

"3. The frequently exorbitant pecuniary sacrifices required of the faithful;

"4. The public schools;

"5. The insufficiency of Catholic and national mutual benefit and protective associations and societies, etc., for the laboring classes;

"6. The need of representatives of each of the immigrant peoples in the episcopate."

In discussing the first of these causes the authors of the report insist upon the necessity of watching over the preservation of the national language of the various groups of immigrants and of organizing national parishes. "Doubtless," says the report, "in the course of years these immigrants will learn to speak English, but, if we allow them to suspend the practice of religion until they have learned the English language, we run the risk of finding them no longer disposed to live in a Christian manner. The sad experience of the past proves unhappily that this is nearly always the case. Each people having its own character, its own habits, its own customs, it is of importance that the priests should not only speak the language, but should also belong to the nation of the immigrants. It is for this reason that each separate national group of immigrants should be organized in a separate parish with a priest of the same nationality."

These ideas have a broad foundation in justice, especially when we have in mind the recently arrived immigrants, but it must be admitted that the maintenance of separate nationalities in the heart of the Ameri-

can nation, which is of English stock, would in the long run tend to disrupt the national unity. Unfortunately the report insists in a rather tactless fashion upon the possibility of becoming Americanized without finally abandoning the characteristics of one's original nationality. This idea reappears at several places, notably where the constitution of national Catholic societies is recommended, and especially in Article VI, where lively insistence is placed upon the representation of the diverse nationalities to which immigrants belong in the American episcopate.

This last point stirred a veritable storm in the United States.

The dominant thought of the report of Lucerne is, in a certain sense, acceptable. It is beyond doubt that to abandon immigrants amid the people among whom they are making their homes is to expose them to the danger of losing faith and morality. Nothing, therefore, could be more useful than the establishment of national societies, where the memory of the mother country would be fostered. Nothing could be more just than to provide religious instruction for these poor people in their mother tongue and through priests of their own nationality. But it is a manifest exaggeration to attempt to maintain this national separation through a long series of generations, and to aim in this way to constitute a number of peoples among the American people, the mass of whom evidently belong to the Anglo-Saxon or to the Irish races. The experience of other nations proves, moreover, that the assimilation of immigrants goes on very rapidly and that it is frequently perfected in the second generation. It would seem, then, that the activity of these protective societies ought to be limited to safeguarding the religious and moral interests of the immigrants during the period of transition, and to facilitating the pacific fusion of the strangers with the natives. The report of Messrs. Cahensly and Volpe Landi appears to be written from a quite opposite point of view and to tend to the division rather than to the harmonious fusion of the diverse nationalities.

American patriotism was violently shocked by this attitude and at the manner of its presentation, and in its unmeasured exaltation it forgot its sense of justice. The Society of Saint Raphael and particularly M. Cahensly, Secretary General of the German Society, were accused of the most sinister designs; his language was travestied, propositions were attributed to him which he had never uttered, and many of the organs of the Catholic press quite forgot that they were dealing with coreligionists, worthy of all respect for their zeal and their charity in behalf of the poor emigrants.

The congress of Lucerne was dubbed "the conjuration of Lucerne;" the action of its members was called "the siege of Rome." It was asserted that the envoys of Prussia and of Austria had bent all their

influence in favor of the ideas of the Society of Saint Raphael, and the same was declared to be true of M. Windthorst and the German Bishops. Finally, it was believed, or there were those who pretended to believe, that the Society of Saint Raphael was asking for the constitution of a double episcopate for each diocese, the one American, the other German. This assertion was contrary to the very text of the report, which read as follows: "The dioceses being formed of the faithful of different nationalities, it is evident that it is not a question of urging the division of these dioceses by nationalities. What is expected of the wisdom and the justice of the Holy See is that, in the episcopal body, Bishops of the diverse nations will be admitted, in order that the various peoples may have some representation of their own in the episcopate, in the ecclesiastical provinces, in the councils."

The Society of Saint Raphael formulated the desiderata presented in the report of Lucerne, in a supplication addressed to the Holy Father in February, 1891, of which the following is the principal passage:

"In order that European Catholics may preserve in the country of their adoption and transmit to their children the Faith and the blessings which it procures, the undersigned have the honor of submitting to Your Holiness the conditions which experience and nature of things indicate as essential to be established in the countries of immigration. The losses which the Church has suffered in the United States of North America amount to ten millions.

"1. It will be necessary to establish in distinct parishes, congregations or missions, the groups of emigrants from each nation, in all circumstances where their number and their resources permit;

"2. It will be necessary to entrust the direction of these parishes to priests belonging to the same nationality as the faithful. The most sweet and the dearest souvenirs of the fatherland will thus at each moment be recalled, and they will love the more the Church which procures these blessings to them;

"3. In the districts where emigrants from various nations have established themselves, not in sufficiently great numbers to be constituted in distinct national parishes, it is desirable that a priest be chosen to direct these groups, who is acquainted with the diverse idioms of the emigrants. This priest will be strictly required to teach the catechism and to give instruction to each group in its own language.

"4. Wherever there are no Christian public schools, parochial schools should be established, and as far as possible, they should be distinct for each nationality. The program of these schools will always include instruction in the national language as well as in the language and history of the country of adoption.

"5. It will be necessary to grant to the priests who devote themselves to the emigrants, all the rights, privileges, favors, etc., enjoyed by the priests of the country. This arrangement, conformable to justice, will have the result of attracting to the emigrants priests of each nationality, zealous, pious and desirous to sanctify souls.

"6. It will be desirable to form and to encourage Catholic associations of diverse nature: Brotherhoods, mutual benefit and aid societies, etc. By these means Catholics will be grouped together, and they will be preserved from perverse societies, such as those of the Freemasons and other analogous societies.

"7. It will be very desirable, whenever deemed possible, to permit the Catholics of each nationality to have a Bishop of their own extraction in the episcopate of the country of immigration. It seems that the organization of the Church will then be complete. Each of the immigrant peoples will be represented, and their interests, their needs, will be safeguarded in the assemblies of the Bishops, in the councils, etc."

The propriety of the last paragraph, in which advice is given to the Holy See relative to the nomination of Bishops, is open to discussion. Possibly it will be thought that the entire supplication too strongly reflects the desire to perpetuate the diverse nationalities of the immigrants. Certainly it does not, however, contain the enormities which were attributed to the authors of the report of Lucerne.

The supplication of which we have given an account was accompanied by a new explanatory memorial prepared by Messrs. Cahensly and Volpe Landi. These documents were not intended for publicity. Nevertheless, their contents transpired and on the 30th of June a telegram from Berlin brought the excitement of the American public to a crisis. This is what they read therein: "If, as is hoped, the Holy See is inclined to second the designs expressed in these documents, and to nominate a large number of German Bishops in America, German influence across the ocean will grow in an extraordinary degree and will directly conduce to the growth of the influence of the German government upon American affairs. M. Cahensly asks the assistance of other foreign governments (Italy, Austria, Spain, Canada) and promises them by way of compensation the share which will accrue to them in the consideration which will result, for the diverse nationalities, in the distribution of the different episcopal sees of America among the representatives of these nationalities. Nevertheless, it is thought here that the lion's share will fall to the Empire. The war against the Irish Bishops in America will be prosecuted with vigor."

Expressions so impassioned as these and such a travesty of the veritable intentions of the members of the Society of Saint Raphael could

not fail on the one hand to arouse the indignation of American patriotism and on the other the lively protests of the defenders of the emigrants. This is, indeed, what happened. A most acrimonious polemic broke out among the American, German and German-American Catholic journals. These dissensions were re-echoed in the episcopate and in the political world.

In a discussion which took place in the American Senate in 1892, Senator Davis delivered a speech upon the question of the interference of the Chinese government in the immigration problem, and upon the intervention of the Society of Saint Raphael with regard to the immigrants from Europe. The following passages from his speech show both how greatly misunderstood the intentions of the congress of Lucerne were, and how the memorandum of that congress opened it to criticism.

"I said a few minutes ago," said Mr. Davis (Congressional Record, April 22, 1892, pages 3532-3), "the Chinese government is not seeking to take possession of our institutions. It has no such desire. It does not care to see its people go abroad; it requires them to come back. I wish, Mr. President, the case were so all over the rest of the world. I wish that in another continent, where the authorities are willing that certain classes of their people may be suffered to come to this country, they would not seek to possess themselves of our institutions or unduly to influence them. There is more matter for profound concern in the attempts of Herr Cahensly made last year to denationalize American institutions and plant as many nations as there are people of foreign tongues in our midst than in all the Chinese questions which have arisen since 1858.

"He proposes to use the power of the Catholic hierarchy to bring about this great political result. I rejoice that I can speak upon this subject without the offense of bringing in religious matters, because it is infinitely to his renown that Leo XIII, the greatest statesman since Ganganelli who has sat in the chair of St. Peter, repulsed the attempt as soon as it was formally submitted to him. But this attempt was not instigated by the American hierarchy at all. I believe it met with the reprobation of Cardinal Gibbons, and I have reason to know it met with the reprobation of Archbishop Ireland.

"The memorial of Herr Cahensly, who is not a prelate—he is a layman, a member of the Prussian Diet, intimate with Dr. Windthorst, whose letter he adopted—in his memorial presented to the Vatican said:

"'6. The want of representatives of the different nationalities of emigrants in the episcopate. . . .

"'As every nationality has its own characteristics, its own habits and customs, it is important, also, that the priests should not only speak the

language of the emigrants, but that they should be of the very same nation. Hence it is desirable that every different national group of emigrants should be organized into a distinct parish, with a priest of its own nationality.

" ' Some are of the opinion that the language cannot be kept beyond the second generation, and that the grandchildren of the immigrants will certainly speak nothing but English.

" ' The facts of experience offer triumphant objections to this opinion.'

" It is part of this scheme that the various foreign languages shall be perpetuated in this country by this segregation of people according to their nationalities. I am speaking solely of the political aspect of the question. For my part, I do not care what kind of Bishops are sent to this country as a matter of faith. Where it touches political questions, I deem it right to call the attention of the country to it. As to matters of faith they can send them to us as *in partibus infidelium* for all that I care.

" I desire to reiterate that this most impudent attempt to bring to bear the elements of various nationalities upon our institutions met with the stern reprehension of that great ecclesiastical statesman who presides over the Vatican. But the movement is going on in its political aspect, and is being pressed to-day.

" We, a nation of diverse people, of one language and of many creeds, are building upon the basis of Christianity a national edifice that aspires to the heavens, and it is plotted to scatter the builders by a Babel confusion of tongues.

" ' We would,' continues the memorial, ' We would think it a gross pretension were any particular nationality to arrogate to itself the mission of Americanizing the others.'

" We do not want any foreign nationality to Americanize the American people.

" ' In the United States, where the Church is composed of immigrated nations that are already civilized and Christianized, but differ in character, habits and customs, as well as language, this need of national Bishops representing the respective nations makes itself imperiously felt.'

" Why should there be a representative of that kind in the bosom of American citizenship?

" ' Again, the harmony and concord among the different nationalities are affected by the question.'

' Various nationalities that come into America are to be settled and provided for by a foreign instrumentality.

' If the episcopate be handed over almost exclusively to one single nationality to the detriment of the others, a feeling of uneasiness, of

general discontent, is created among these last, a feeling which assumes the proportions of jealous national rivalries, feelings wounded and shocked in every sacred right and interest belonging to these same nations.'

"It is perfectly amazing throughout this entire memorial how utterly oblivious this intruder is to the fact that there is an American nationality, an American people, destined to become throughout an American stock. We are to his mind a nation upon whom the political intriguers of the European world are to operate all their own theories at their own sweet will. The idea of an American nationality consolidated into a unity is to be combated by alien influences, operated by foreign governments, and for as many tongues and as for as many people as there are tongues we are to be relegated, if it is possible, to the condition in which the polyglot Indians were when this country was discovered.

"'It is desired and wished,' so proceeds the memorial, 'that concord and harmony should reign among the different nations that go to make up the Church of the United States; nothing is more desirable, nothing more essential.

"'The sole and only way to attain this end is to give to every one of these nations Bishops of their own, Bishops belonging to each, who will represent their respective nations in the episcopal body just as those nations are represented among the parochial clergy and among the faithful.

"'Every nation that has not its Bishops is an uncrowned nation, a nation without chiefs, without protectors, without guides of its own, a nation without head, a decapitated nation, that feels itself profoundly humiliated, sacrificed, consequently a discontented and jealous nation, a nation that will never live in harmony with better-favored nations which it accuses of defrauding it of its rights and wounding it in its sacred interests.'

"How beautiful that would be from any standpoint, even of the gentleman who penned that memorial or the convention which adopted it! It had not conceived the idea of a composite American nation of one language and of one blood, but instead of that the disintegrating idea of many nations arrayed against one another and represented by people from abroad, appointed from foreign lands, who cannot speak our language, but appointed here because they speak the foreign tongue, appointed here for the purpose of perpetuating it through the first and second generations.

"Again he says: 'Moreover, this question affects the interests of the countries from which emigration takes place.'

"This to my mind is the most important part of the document: 'Moreover, this question affects the interests of the countries from which emigration takes place. Through their emigrants the nations are acquiring in the great Republic an influence and an importance of which they will one day be able to make great profit.

"'These nations are so well aware of this that they are doing everything in their power to have those of their nationalities settled in the United States develop and strengthen themselves in every respect. The time has come when governments can no longer remain indifferent to this grave and important question.

"'For example, is it a matter of no consequence to England, Ireland, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, Hungary, Spain and other governments that they number in a youthful country, and one full of prospects, millions of fellow-citizens, forming part of the nation, and taking an active part in industry, commerce, politics, social life and public affairs?

"'It must not be lost sight of that the American nation, the people of the United States, is not a people of one race only, but of all races, of all nationalities. Every race, every nationality may take its place in the sunlight.

"'Precisely owing to this fact, and because religion is the cornerstone and the keystone of every social fabric, the nations have an immense interest in their emigrants being represented in the episcopate of the United States by Bishops of their own.'

"There was never, Mr. President, a more infamous attempt to prostitute religious power to political purposes than the one proposed in that memorial. This man is no inconsiderable man. He moves with no inconsiderable allies. He is, or was, a member of the Prussian Diet. It is stated that Herr von Schloezer, the German representative at Rome, is in hearty accord with him and supported this memorial; that Austrian families of high rank, moving in noble and royal circles, were interested in the scheme. It is to the glory of the American Catholic hierarchy that they have fought this proposition and are fighting it to-day. With a man less wise than the present Pontiff, very serious consequences might have ensued.

"I have not gone out of my way to bring this subject here. It forces itself upon the attention in the present connection, and it so far dwarfs by contrast the dangers to be apprehended from China that I could not refrain from doing it. Reading all that has been said against the Chinese, and reading and pondering what has been attempted, how infinitely Confucius rises above Cahensly."

Whatever exaggeration there may be in all this, it must be admitted that Senator Davis very skilfully turns to account the really unhappy

manner in which the memorandum of Lucerne expounds certain arguments.

M. Cahensly vainly attempted to calm the excitement of the American public by appropriating as his own the words of a Cincinnati paper: "The immigrant who purposes in this country to favor the interests of his former country is a traitor and not to be tolerated here." The irritation continued none the less, and the war of the pen between the different nationalities grew more and more heated.

The Holy See pronounced itself upon the subject in two important documents. The first was a letter written by Cardinal Rampolla to Cardinal Gibbons on the 28th of June, 1892. We quote the most important passages of this letter as it appeared in the newspapers:

"The Holy Father cannot but rejoice that associations have been established among you with the object of securing to the very numerous Catholic emigrants to America the help which their material interests and more especially the welfare of their souls demands. But it has been revealed that certain of these associations, as, for example, the German Society of Saint Raphael, plan, among other ways of attaining this end, to procure for each group of emigrants, according to their nationality, a representative among the members of the American episcopate." The Cardinal refers to the unfortunate impression produced by this plan among the Catholic hierarchy of America, and declares that the Holy See finds the plan in question "neither opportune nor necessary." The Secretary of State urges the American episcopate not to encourage "a movement occasioned by a fear without any foundation," but to exert themselves to cause peace to prevail, with the absolute assurance that the Holy Father will not accept any proposition of a nature to disturb that. The spiritual interests of the European immigrants are sufficiently safeguarded, in the eyes of the Holy See, by the nomination of national curates, according to the practice hitherto in vogue.

This letter did not altogether have the desired result. The polemic flourished as before. The German Society of Saint Raphael, while expressing their appreciation of the justice done by the Cardinal to the work to which the Society is devoted, complained that the propositions of the congress of Lucerne had not been exactly reproduced in the letter written by the Secretary of State. The Society had not, they asserted, proposed that a Bishop be nominated for each group of emigrants, but merely that each nationality should be represented in the American episcopate. There may, indeed, have been a slight *lapsus calami* in this regard in the Cardinal's letter, if the text as given by the papers may be trusted, but the fundamental idea of the Society of Saint Raphael was there

expressed with sufficient lucidity. The same society complained that the movement was attributed to the German branch alone, whereas it emanated from all the Societies of Saint Raphael as a body. Finally they insisted upon the importance of cherishing the national language of each group of immigrants, and complained bitterly of the attacks of the American press in this connection. These complaints were expounded to Cardinal Rampolla in a memorial *ad hoc*. In short, peace was far from being established. A more decisive intervention of the Holy See became necessary.

This intervention was not long delayed. One of the first acts of Cardinal Ledochowski, the new prefect of the Propaganda, was to address to all of the Bishops of the United States a circular dated the 15th of May, 1892, in which positive instructions and definite rules were given with reference to the question which had caused so much agitation on both sides of the ocean.

The Cardinal, after having praised the zeal of the American Bishops, severely criticised the usage which tended to become fixed in the United States relative to the nomination of Bishops. "The discipline which is in force in America upon this point must be upheld entire and inviolable," added the prefect of the Propaganda, recalling the words of the letter in which Cardinal Rampolla had refuted "the vain opinion" of those who imagined that national Bishops were going to be assigned to the European immigrants. The Cardinal thus depicted the abuse which he intended to criticise: "Your Grace is aware that on the occasion of vacancies in the episcopal sees, various movements arise in your country among the clergy and the Catholic laity, and experience teaches that these movements are insensibly growing more and more serious and frequent. . . . We behold the people and the clergy bestirring themselves without regard to legitimate rights for the proposal of candidates to the episcopal charges; discussions are opened and rage in the public press; more than this, public and private meetings are held, in which each party exalts its own candidates and by its accusations depreciates the others. That which especially enrages these controversies is the ardent desire of each faction to possess a Bishop of its own nationality, as if the interests of individuals were to be regarded rather than the service of the Church in the election of a worthy pastor. The Apostolic See, which in the whole world seeks nothing but the advantage of the Church in the nomination of Bishops, needs to have that advantage especially in view in the United States of America, where diverse European nations seek a new fatherland and weld themselves into a single people and, consequently, into a single nation." Cardinal Ledochowski then declares that "all attempts to undermine the authority

of the national councils and above all that of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in this matter are to be suppressed." The eminent prefect of the Propaganda finally entreats the Bishops to avert from their diocesans the dangers accompanying these discussions, which disturb concord, relax ecclesiastical discipline, and above all create scandal among non-Catholics themselves. It is in vain, the Cardinal concludes, that projects are entertained foreign to the prescriptions of the councils "for the Holy See has nothing more at heart than to defend the firmness of the ecclesiastical law, the guardian of order and the defense of the peace."

This eminently juridical circular of Cardinal Ledochowski bears the stamp of the lofty spirit of justice and of legality which has always distinguished the Rome of the Popes, as it distinguished the Rome of the ancient masters of the world: *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!* We seem to hear an echo of that imperative declaration of ancient Rome in this document in which the prefect of the Propaganda lays down the law, *jus dicit,* with so much precision and impartiality.

CHAPTER XXII.

Leo XIII, the Chicago Exposition and the Columbian Celebrations—Encyclical upon Christopher Columbus—The Church and the American Republic—The Nomination of an Apostolic Delegate to the United States—The Encyclical Longinqua to the Archbishops and the Bishops of the United States—The Encyclical on "Americanism."

THE attention of Americans was destined soon to be turned from canonical and juridical questions by an event of quite a different order. This was the celebration held in honor of the discovery of America and of the Exposition of Chicago.

Ever solicitous to show that the Church is not hostile or a stranger to whatever constitutes real progress, even in the material order, Leo XIII desired to be associated with the great American manifestation. Writing to one of the principal organizers of the Exposition, Mr. Bryan, he said that nothing could surpass in splendor the possibilities of the magnificent Exposition which was to be held at Chicago and which was to bring together upon a single spot examples of the products of nature and of the works created by the ingenious spirit of man. "The success of this enterprise," he continued, "will certainly furnish a new proof of the lofty spirit and the active vigor of a people who attempt difficult enterprises with so much audacity and success. In extending to the citizens of the great Republic deserved praise, We express the firm hope that their noble enterprise, to which other nations will lend their support, will have a happy issue and will be very useful in stimulating the genius of man in its efforts to develop the gifts of nature, and in encouraging the fine arts."

This language, so flattering to the United States, was enthusiastically received. Leo XIII confirmed it by taking a personal part in the Exposition at Chicago by sending thither two precious maps of America, preserved in the museum of the Propaganda. One of them was none other than the historic map upon which Alexander VI, with his own hand, drew the boundary line between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in America. The government of the United States highly appreciated this act of Leo XIII, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Foster, on the 15th of September, wrote to Cardinal Rampolla to assure him that the most minute care would be taken to assure the safety of

the Columbian relics sent by the Pope and that they would be returned to him who sent them with religious scrupulosity. Mr. Foster's letter contained the following passage which did full justice to the part taken by the Holy See in the discovery of America: "The close association of the Holy See with the enterprise of Columbus has so intimately bound the memory of Rome and the Roman Pontiffs to the vast project of Columbus and of his comrades and competitors in the work of the discovery and colonization of America; it has exercised so marked an influence upon the destinies and progress of the New World, that an Exposition, such as this which, under order of the President, I have the honor to submit to you, cannot fail to figure among the most remarkable solemnities of the international celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America. In coöperating to this end, His Holiness has shown an attention to this country which will be highly appreciated, not only by the organizers of the Exposition, but also by the entire American people."

In the name of the Pope, Cardinal Rampolla expressed the satisfaction which the courteous bearing of the Federal Government in this transaction had occasioned him, and, in announcing the dispatch of a Pontifical delegate to the Columbian celebrations, he took occasion to congratulate the United States upon their right political attitude toward religion. "At the same time," he said, "His Holiness, who has so many reasons to express a special regard for the government of the United States, because of the liberty which the Catholic Church there enjoys, and who justly admires the spirit of enterprise and progress which distinguishes the country, has decided to have himself represented at the public manifestation, which is to be held in honor of the great Genoese, during the fourth centenary of his memorable discovery, by a person who is not less distinguished by his personal qualities than by his grade in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. That person is Mgr. Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, a prelate highly esteemed because of his virtues as well as because of his profound learning, of which he has given repeated proofs in his writings."

The Pontifical Delegate was received in America with the very greatest honors. He traveled royally in a special train which was placed at his disposal. In Chicago he was made to occupy a seat of honor and the people who gathered around him acclaimed in him the Pontiff, the friend of America, whose envoy he was. A consoling symptom and augury for the future was this sympathetic meeting between the Papacy and the young American Democracy!

Leo XIII did not content himself with the dispatch of the Apostolic Delegate. He desired to celebrate the fourth centenary of the discovery

Chair of St. Peter.

Statue of Pope Leo XIII in McMahon Hall, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. It is the Work of Guiseppe Marchetti, and was presented to the University by Duc de Loubet.

of America in the presence of the entire world, by claiming Columbus and his work as a glory of Catholicism.

The Encyclical of the 16th of July, 1892, addressed to the Bishops of Spain, Italy and the two Americas, first establishes the part which the Church gladly takes in all great enterprises.

"Without doubt," says Leo XIII, "she reserves quite particular honors to preëminent virtues, in so much as they are united to the eternal salvation of souls; nevertheless, she does not despise the others, nor does she abstain from estimating them at their true value; it is even her wont, with all her power, to favor and ever to hold in honor those who have deserved well of human society and who have passed to immortality. Of course, God is especially to be admired in His saints, but the vestiges of His divine virtue also appear in those in whom shines a superior force of soul and spirit, for that elevation of heart and that brilliancy of genius could only have come from God, their Author and Creator."

The Pope then expounds the reasons why the Church cannot remain silent in the presence of the Columbian celebrations. *Colombus noster est,* he says, "Columbus is ours." It was the Catholic faith that inspired his enterprise. In him the religious motive dominated all other motives. His principal design, "the resolution deeply graven in his heart, was to open new worlds and new seas to the Gospel." Leo XIII proves his assertion by the words of Columbus himself: "When he presented himself to the sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, he explained to them that they need not fear to take the enterprise to their hearts, because their glory would increase until it became immortal, *if they should decide to bear the name and the doctrine of* Jesus Christ *into such distant regions.* And when, a short time afterwards, his entreaties were granted, he declared that he desired to obtain it from God that these sovereigns, sustained by His aid and His grace, would persevere in causing the Gospel to penetrate to new shores and into new lands. He manifested the design to ask Alexander VI for some apostolic men, in a letter in which the following words occur: 'I hope that it will one day be granted me with the aid of God to propagate afar the very holy name of Jesus Christ and His Gospel.' Also one can easily imagine him filled with joy when he wrote to Raphael Sanchez, who was the first to return to Lisbon from the Indes, that immortal actions of grace needed to be rendered to God for having deigned to prosper the enterprise; and that Jesus Christ might rejoice and triumph upon earth and in heaven for the future salvation of countless peoples who heretofore rushed to their destruction."

It was this spirit of faith that sustained Columbus amid unheard-of trials, such as "the discouraging advice of the learned, the refusals of

princes, the tempests of the furious ocean, the assiduous watches in which more than once he narrowly escaped with his life. To all this was added the struggles which he had to wage against the barbarians, the infidelity of his friends and his companions, villainous conspiracies, the perfidies of the envious, the calumnies of detractors, and finally, the chains with which, although innocent, he was laden!"

Leo XIII indicates the secret design of Providence in the discovery of America, which compensated Catholicism for the losses which heresy had inflicted upon it in Europe. "To call the Indian race to Christianity, that was doubtless the mission and the work of the Church. And this mission, so soon begun, she has continued to fulfill by an uninterrupted exercise of charity, and by advancing in these recent times as far as extreme Patagonia."

The Encyclical discovers in Columbus the worthy executor of the divine plan: "After seven years had revolved and the time had arrived when he was to brave the ocean, he saw to it that the expedition accomplished certain acts of spiritual expiation; he prayed the Queen of heaven to aid the enterprise and to direct its course, and before giving the order to set sail, he invoked the august and divine Trinity. Then, once out in the open sea, while the ships trembled and the rigging murmured, he, under the protection of God, preserved a tranquil and constant spirit. His plan shows itself in the very names which he gave to the new islands, and each time it was granted him to set foot upon one, he adored the Almighty God and never took possession except in the name of Jesus Christ. Upon whatever shore he landed he had nothing more at heart that to plant upon it the sacred sign of the Cross; and the divine name of the Redeemer which he had chanted so often on the high seas to the accompaniment of the murmuring sails, was the first that he proclaimed in the new islands. To the same effect, when he instituted the Spanish colony there, he commanded that the beginning should be made by the construction of a temple, and he provided at the outset that the popular feast days should be celebrated with august ceremonies."

After having claimed the discovery of America as a Catholic work, Leo XIII commands that this event so happy for humanity be celebrated with religious festivities.

In America the grand voice of Leo XIII, instead of awakening the ridicule of a press held in fief by the secret lodges as it would have done in Europe, found a most sympathetic echo in the United States. The great Columbian Exposition in Chicago was opened with a religious ceremony, and, a remarkable thing for a Protestant country, it was a Catholic prelate, Cardinal Gibbons, who was invited to give to that solemn manifestation the consecration of Religion. It was he who, upon

official invitation, by public prayers called down the benedictions of Heaven upon the Exposition. At the same time a lay orator, Mr. Depew, taking up the idea of Leo XIII, showed how Columbus had been sent by the Pope to open up a new world to the conquest of Christianity. He saluted in Columbus the genius of religion lighting the way for scientific intuition. He loudly proclaimed that the United States, sprung from Christianity, was and would always remain a Christian nation. Such were the things which were said and done in the United States upon the occasion of a universal exposition. The authorities of the United States upon that occasion gave a new proof of the broad and benevolent spirit which actuates them in their relations to Catholicism.

The Church of America, taking full advantage of the liberty granted to her by a government which is not hampered by bigotry, beholds a great future opening before her. She has not arrived at the age of maturity and the Christian world awaits virile works and brilliant triumphs. These acts and triumphs will result from her relation to the center of Christianity. It is for this reason that Leo XIII has judged it necessary to establish immediate communication between the American Church and the Holy See by founding an Apostolic Delegation in the United States. This important event took place in the beginning of the year 1893. Mgr. Satolli, who had at first been entrusted with a temporary mission, became the first titular of the new institution. The Apostolic Delegation is of a purely ecclesiastical, not in any way of a political, character. It constitutes the crown of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

The Sovereign Pontiff expressed himself relative to this matter in the above-cited letter to Cardinal Gibbons, as follows: "After having recalled the fact that the dispatch of Mgr. Satolli to America upon the occasion of the Chicago Exposition had been a mark of benevolence toward the United States, and "of great regard for those who are at the head of the American Republic," Leo XIII continues: "But beyond this the object of this legation has been to render Our presence perpetual among you by the constitution of a permanent Apostolic Delegation at Washington. Thus We have openly declared, not only that your nation is as dear to Us as the other most flourishing nations to which We have been accustomed to send the representatives of Our authority, but further that We earnestly desire that the bonds of mutual union which bind you and your faithful to Our person may be made more firm from day to day."

The flourishing condition of Catholicism in the United States in all respects justifies the particular interest of Leo XIII. The following figures will give some idea of the immensity and the rapidity of the development of Catholicism in the great Republic: In 1790, the first Bishop

of the United States, Mgr. Carroll, was at the head of thirty priests and of only 44,500 Catholics. In fact, Catholic institutions consisted of only a few poor churches and chapels and a single college, that at Georgetown, belonging to the Jesuits. A century later, the Catholic population numbered ten million* souls; there are 80 dioceses, 9,388 priests, 8,477 churches and more than 5,248 chapels and stations. There are in the United States 36 seminaries, 783 colleges and academies, 3,587 parochial schools and 708 asylums for children and charitable institutions. The progressive march of Catholicism has made considerable strides in recent years. Leo XIII has founded three new ecclesiastical provinces and twenty-three dioceses in the United States. From the beginning of his Pontificate the number of seminaries has increased to the number of 15, the colleges 53, the academies 137, the parochial schools 1,457, the churches 2,843 and the priests 3,840. This growth is veritably prodigious and it is easy to comprehend why Leo XIII deemed it fitting to make every effort to bind so flourishing a Christianity with the closest bonds to the center of Catholic faith.

The faithful in the United States understood the solicitude of the Sovereign Pontiff and expressed their gratitude to him in the most significant manner. "We have been consoled in no moderate degree," Leo XIII wrote to Cardinal Gibbons, "by the knowledge that this new mark of Our solicitude has been followed by general demonstrations of gratitude and good-will toward Us."

In truth, the Apostolic Delegate was loyally received by the clergy and the faithful, in his visit to the immense territory of the Republic. As an enduring monument of their enthusiastic reception, the Catholics of America presented to the Holy See a fitting residence for its representative in Washington.

The space at our disposition does not permit us to describe in detail Mgr. Satolli's journey through the United States. We shall only recall the splendid reception which was accorded him in New York on the 15th of August, 1893. On that day, the Delegate celebrated Mass in the Cathedral of New York into which 10,000 people had crowded. After the religious services, Mgr. Corrigan, Archbishop of the diocese, spoke in an admirable fashion of the duties of the Bishops and the faithful toward the Sovereign Pontiff and his Delegate.

(At this point Mgr. de T'Serclaes concludes his account of the relations which have subsisted between the Vatican and the United States and of the activity of the Catholic Church in America. Fortunately that story has been carried forward by the Holy Father himself in two

*Now more nearly thirteen million.

Encyclicals which have a lasting interest to all Americans, both because of the profound lessons which they teach and because of the great influence they have exerted upon the development of American institutions. Feeling certain that this volume will acquire an added interest for the American reader from the Encyclical Longinqua, promulgated in 1895, and the Encyclical on "Americanism," promulgated in 1899, we have presented them as a supplement to Mgr. de T'Serclaes' history.)

The following Encyclical derives its name from the first word of the Latin text: *LONGINQUA oceani spatia animo,* etc.

To Our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States of North America, Leo XIII, Pope:

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

We traverse in spirit and thought the wide expanse of ocean; and although We have at other times addressed you in writing—chiefly when We directed Encyclical letters to the Bishops of the Catholic world—yet have We now resolved to speak to you separately, trusting that We shall be, God willing, of some assistance to the Catholic cause amongst you. To this We apply Ourselves with the utmost zeal and care; because We highly esteem and love exceedingly the young and vigorous American nation, in which We plainly discern latent forces for the advancement alike of civilization and of Christianity.

Not long ago, when your whole nation, as was fitting, celebrated with grateful recollection and every manifest joy, the completion of the fourth century since the discovery of America, We, too, commemorated with you that most auspicious event, sharing in your rejoicings with equal goodwill. Nor were We on that occasion content with offering prayers at a distance for your welfare and greatness. It was Our wish to be in some manner present with you in your festivities. Hence We cheerfully sent one who should represent Our person. Not without reason did We take part in your celebration. For when America was, as yet, but a new-born babe, uttering in its cradle its first feeble cries, the Church took it to her bosom in motherly embrace. Columbus, as We have elsewhere expressly shown, sought as the primary fruit of his voyages, his labors, to open a pathway for the Christian faith into new lands and new seas. Keeping this thought constantly in view, his first solicitude, wherever he disembarked, was to plant upon the shore the sacred emblem of the Cross. Wherefore, like as the Ark of Noe, surmounting the overflowing waters, bore the seed of Israel together with the remnants of the human race, even thus did the barks launched by Columbus upon the ocean carry into regions beyond the seas as well the germs of mighty states as the principles of the Catholic religion.

This is not the place to give a detailed account of what thereupon ensued. Very rapidly did the light of the Gospel shine upon the savage tribes discovered by Columbus. For it is sufficiently well known how many of the children of Francis, as well as of Dominic and Loyola, were accustomed during the two following centuries to voyage thither for this purpose; how they cared for the colonies brought over from Europe; but primarily and chiefly how they converted the natives from superstition to Christianity, sealing their labors in many instances with the testimony of their blood. The names newly given to so many of your towns and rivers, mountains and lakes, teach and clearly witness how deeply your beginnings were marked with the footprints of the Catholic Church.

Nor, perchance, did the fact which We now recall take place without some design of Divine Providence. Precisely at the epoch when the American colonies, having, with Catholic aid, achieved liberty and independence, coalesced into a constitutional Republic, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was happily established amongst you; and at the very time when the popular suffrage placed the great Washington at the helm of the Republic, the first Bishop was set by apostolic authority over the American Church. The well-known friendship and familiar intercourse which subsisted between these two men seems to be an evidence that the United States ought to be conjoined in concord and amity with the Catholic Church. And not without cause; for without morality the state cannot endure—a truth which that illustrious citizen of yours, whom We have just mentioned, with a keenness of insight worthy of his genius and statesmanship, perceived and proclaimed. But the best and strongest support of morality is Religion. She, by her very nature, guards and defends all the principles upon which duties are founded, and, setting before us the motives most powerful to influence us, commands us to live virtuously and forbids us to transgress. Now, what is the Church other than a legitimate society, founded by the will and ordinance of Jesus Christ for the preservation of morality and the defense of religion? For this reason have We repeatedly endeavored, from the summit of the Pontifical dignity, to inculcate that the Church, whilst directly and immediately aiming at the salvation of souls and the beatitude which is to be attained in heaven, is yet, even in the order of temporal things, the fountain of blessings so numerous and great that they could not have been greater or more numerous had the original purpose of her institution been the pursuit of happiness during the life which is spent on earth.

That your Republic is progressing and developing by giant strides is patent to all; and this holds good in religious matters also. For even

as your cities, in the course of one century, have made a marvelous increase in wealth and power, so do We behold the Church, from scant and slender beginnings, grown with rapidity to be great and exceedingly flourishing. Now, if, on the one hand, the increased riches and resources of your cities are justly attributed to the talents and active industry of the American people, on the other hand, the prosperous condition of Catholicity must be ascribed, first, indeed, to the virtue, the ability and the prudence of the Bishops and the clergy; but, in no slight measure also, to the faith and generosity of the Catholic laity. Thus, while the different classes exerted their best energies, you were enabled to erect unnumbered religious and useful institutions, sacred edifices, schools for the instruction of youth, colleges for the higher branches, homes for the poor, hospitals for the sick, and convents and monasteries. As for what more closely touches spiritual interests, which are based upon the exercise of the Christian virtues, many facts have been brought to Our notice whereby We are animated with hope and filled with joy, namely, that the numbers of the secular and regular clergy are steadily augmenting, that pious sodalities and confraternities are held in esteem, that the Catholic parochial schools, the Sunday-schools for imparting Christian doctrine and summer schools are in a flourishing condition; moreover, associations for mutual aid, for the relief of the indigent, for the promotion of temperate living, add to all this the many evidences of popular piety.

The main factor, no doubt, in bringing things into this happy state, were the ordinances and decrees of your Synods, especially of those which in more recent times were convened and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See. But, moreover (a fact which it gives pleasure to acknowledge), thanks are due to the equity of the laws which obtain in America and to the customs of the well-ordered Republic. For the Church amongst you, unopposed by the Constitution or the Government of your nation, fettered by no hostile legislation, protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, is free to live and act without hindrance. Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. The fact that Catholicity with you is in good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed His Church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself; but she would bring

forth more abundant fruits, if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.

For Our part We have left nothing undone, as far as circumstances permitted, to preserve and more solidly establish among you the Catholic religion. With this intent, We have, as you are well aware, turned Our attention to two special objects: first, the advancement of learning; second, a perfecting of methods in the management of Church affairs. There already, indeed, existed several distinguished universities. We, however, thought it advisable that there should be one founded by authority of the Apostolic See and endowed by Us with all suitable powers, in which Catholic professors might instruct those devoted to the pursuit of learning. The design was to begin with philosophy and theology, adding, as means and circumstances would allow, the remaining branches, those particularly which the present age has introduced or perfected. An education cannot be deemed complete which takes no notice of modern sciences. It is obvious that in the existing keen competition of talents, and the widespread and, in itself, noble and praiseworthy passion for knowledge, Catholics ought to be, not followers, but leaders. It is necessary, therefore, that they should cultivate every refinement of learning and zealously train their minds to the discovery of truth and the investigation, so far as it is possible, of the entire domain of nature. This, in every age, has been the desire of the Church; upon the enlargement of the boundaries of the sciences has she been wont to bestow all possible labor and energy. By a letter, therefore, dated the seventh day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1889, directed to you, venerable brethren, We established at Washington, your capital city, esteemed by a majority of you a very proper seat for the higher studies, a University for the instruction of young men desirous of pursuing advanced courses. In announcing this matter to Our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, in Consistory, We expressed the wish that it should be regarded as the fixed law of the University to unite erudition and learning with soundness of faith and to imbue its students not less with religion than with scientific culture. To the Bishops of the United States We entrusted the task of establishing a suitable Course of Studies and of supervising the discipline of the students; and We conferred the office and authority of Chancellor, as it is called, upon the Archbishop of Baltimore. And, by Divine favor, a quite happy beginning was made. For, without any delay, whilst you were celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of your ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the brightest auspices, in the presence of Our Delegate, the divinity classes were opened. From that time onward, We know that theological science

Most Rev. James Edward Quigley,
Archbishop of Chicago.

Dr. Maurice Francis Egan,
Dean of the School of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America.

has been imparted by the diligence of eminent men, the renown of whose talents and learning receives a fitting crown in their recognized loyalty and devotion to the Apostolic See. Nor is it long since We were apprised that, thanks to the liberality of a pious priest, a new building had been constructed in which young men, as well cleric as lay, are to receive instruction in the natural sciences and literature. From Our knowledge of the American character, We are fully confident that the example set by this noble man will incite others to imitate him; they will not fail to realize that liberality exercised towards such an object will be repaid by the very greatest advantages to the public.

No one can be ignorant how powerfully similar institutions of learning, whether originally founded by the Catholic Church from time to time, or approved and promoted by her legislation, have contributed to the spread of knowledge and civilization in every part of Europe. Even in our own day, though other instances might be given, it is enough to mention the University of Louvain, to which the Belgian nation ascribes its almost daily increase in prosperity and glory. Equally abundant will be the benefits proceeding from the Washington University, if the professors and students (as We doubt not they will) be mindful of Our injunctions, and shunning party spirit and strife, conciliate the good opinion of the people and the clergy.

We wish now, Venerable Brethren, to commend to your affection and to the generosity of your people the College which Our predecessor, Pius IX, founded in this city for the ecclesiastical training of young men from North America, and which We took care to place upon a firm basis by a letter dated the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of Our Lord 1884. We can make this appeal the more confidently, because the results obtained from this institution have by no means belied the expectations commonly entertained regarding it. You yourselves can testify that, during its brief existence, it has sent forth a large number of exemplary priests, some of whom have been promoted for their virtue and learning to the highest degrees of ecclesiastical dignity. We are, therefore, thoroughly persuaded that you will continue to be solicitous to send hither select young men who are in training to become the hope of the Church. For they will carry back to their homes and utilize for the general good the wealth of intellectual attainments and moral excellence which they have acquired in the city of Rome.

The love which We cherish for the Catholics of your nation moved Us, likewise, to turn Our attention, at the very beginning of Our Pontificate, to the convocation of a Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Subsequently, when the Archbishops, at Our invitation, had come to Rome,

We diligently inquired from them what they deemed most conducive to the common good. We finally, and after mature deliberation, ratified by apostolic authority the decrees of the prelates assembled at Baltimore. In truth the event has proved, and still proves, that the decrees of Baltimore were salutary and timely in the extreme. Experience has demonstrated their power for the maintenance of discipline; for stimulating the intelligence and zeal of the clergy; for defending and developing the Catholic education of youth. Wherefore, Venerable Brethren, if We make acknowledgment of your activity in these matters, if We laud your firmness tempered with prudence, We but pay tribute due to your merit; for We are fully sensible that so great a harvest of blessings could by no means so swiftly have ripened to maturity had you not exerted yourselves, each to the utmost of his ability, sedulously and faithfully to carry into effect the statutes you had wisely framed at Baltimore.

But when the Council of Baltimore had concluded its labors, the duty still remained of putting, so to speak, a proper and becoming crown upon the work. This, We perceived, could scarcely be done in a more fitting manner than through the due establishment by the Apostolic See of an American Legation. Accordingly, as you are all aware, We have done this. By this action, as We have already intimated, We have wished, first of all, to certify that in Our judgment and affection America occupies the same place and rights as other States, be they ever so mighty and imperial. In addition to this, We had in mind to draw more closely the bonds of duty and friendship which connect you and so many thousands of Catholics with the Apostolic See. In fact, the mass of the Catholics understood how salutary Our action was destined to be; they saw, moreover, that it accorded with the usage and policy of the Apostolic See. For it has been, from earliest antiquity, the custom of the Roman Pontiffs in the exercise of the divinely-bestowed gift of the primacy in the administration of the Church of Christ, to send forth legates to Christian nations and peoples. And they did this, not by any adventitious but an inherent right. For "the Roman Pontiff, upon whom Christ has conferred ordinary and immediate jurisdiction, as well over all and singular the churches, as over all and singular pastors and faithful (Con. Vat. Sess., iv, c. 3), since he cannot personally visit the different regions and thus exercise the pastoral office over the flock entrusted to him, finds it necessary, from time to time, in the discharge of the ministry imposed on him, to dispatch legates into different parts of the world, according as the need arises; who, supplying his place, may correct errors, make the rough ways plain, and administer

to the people confided to their care increased means of salvation." (Cap. Un. Extrav. Comm. De Consuet, l. i.)

But how unjust and baseless would be the suspicion, should it anywhere exist, that the powers conferred on the legate are an obstacle to the authority of the Bishops! Sacred to Us (more than to any other) are the rights of those "whom the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the Church of God." That these rights should remain intact in every nation in every part of the globe, We both desire and ought to desire, the more so since the dignity of the individual Bishop is by nature so interwoven with the dignity of the Roman Pontiff that any measure that benefits the one necessarily protects the other. "My honor is the honor of the Universal Church. My honor is the unimpaired vigor of my brethren. Then am I truly honored, when to each one due honor is not denied." (S. Gregorius Epis. ad Eulog. Alex. lib. viii, ep. 30.) Therefore, since it is the office and function of an apostolic legate, with whatsoever powers he may be vested, to execute the mandates and interpret the will of the Pontiff who sends him, thus, so far from his being of any detriment to the ordinary power of the Bishops, he will rather bring an accession of stability and strength. His authority will possess no slight weight for preserving in the multitude a submissive spirit; in the clergy discipline and due reverence for the Bishops; and in the Bishops mutual charity and an intimate union of souls. And since this union, so salutary and desirable, consists mainly of harmony of thought and action, he will, no doubt, bring it to pass that each one of you shall persevere in the diligent administration of his diocesan affairs; that one shall not impede another in matters of government; that one shall not pry into the counsels and conduct of another; finally, that with disagreements eradicated and mutual esteem maintained, you may all work together with combined energies to promote the glory of the American Church and the general welfare. It is difficult to estimate the good results which will flow from this concord of the Bishops. Our own people will receive edification; and the force of example will have its effect on those without—who will be persuaded by this argument alone that the divine apostolate has passed by inheritance to the ranks of the Catholic episcopate.

Another consideration claims Our earnest attention. All intelligent men have agreed, and We Ourselves have with pleasure intimated it above, that America seems destined for greater things. Now, it is Our wish that the Catholic Church should not only share in, but help to bring about, this prospective greatness. We deem it right and proper that she should, by availing herself of the opportunities daily presented to her, keep equal step with the Republic in the march of improvement,

at the same time striving to the utmost, by her virtue and her institutions, to aid in the rapid growth of the States. Now, she will attain both these objects the more easily and abundantly, in proportion to the degree that the future shall find her constitution perfected. But what is the meaning of the legation of which We are speaking, or what is its ultimate aim except to bring it about that the constitution of the Church shall be strengthened, her discipline better fortified? Wherefore, We ardently desire that the truth should sink day by day more deeply in the minds of Catholics—namely, that they can in no better way safeguard their individual interests and the common good than by yielding a hearty submission and obedience to the Church. Your faithful people, however, are scarcely in need of exhortation on this point; for they are accustomed to adhere to the institutions of Catholicity with willing souls and a constancy worthy of all praise.

To one matter of the greatest importance and fraught with the greatest blessings it is a pleasure at this place to refer, on account of the holy firmness in principle and practice respecting it which, as a rule, rightly prevails amongst you; We mean the Christian dogma of the unity and indissolubility of marriage; which supplies the firmest bond of safety, not merely to the family, but to society at large. Not a few of your citizens, even of those who dissent from Us in other doctrines, terrified by the licentiousness of divorce, admire and approve in this regard the Catholic teaching and the Catholic customs. They are led to this judgment not less by love of country than by the wisdom of the doctrine. For difficult it is to imagine a more deadly pest to the community than the wish to declare dissoluble a bond which the law of God has made perpetual and inseverable. Divorce "is the fruitful cause of mutable marriage contracts; it diminishes mutual affection; it supplies a pernicious stimulus to unfaithfulness; it is injurious to the care and education of children; it gives occasion to the breaking up of domestic society; it scatters the seeds of discord among families; it lessens and degrades the dignity of women, who incur the danger of being abandoned when they shall have subserved the lust of their husbands. And since nothing tends so effectually as the corruption of morals to ruin families and undermine the strength of kingdoms, it may easily be perceived that divorce is especially hostile to the prosperity of families and States." (Encyc. Arcanum.)

As regards civil affairs, experience has shown how important it is that the citizens should be upright and virtuous. In a free State, unless justice be generally cultivated, unless the people be repeatedly and diligently urged to observe the precepts and laws of the Gospel, liberty itself may be pernicious. Let those of the clergy, therefore, who are

occupied with the instruction of the multitude, treat plainly this topic of the duties of citizens, so that all may understand and feel the necessity, in political life, of conscientiousness, self-restraint and integrity; for that cannot be lawful in public which is unlawful in private affairs. On this whole subject there are to be found, as you know, in the Encyclical letters written by Us from time to time in the course of Our Pontificate, many things which Catholics should attend to and observe. In these writings and expositions We have treated of human liberty, of the chief Christian duties, of civil government, and of the Christian constitution of States, drawing Our principles as well from the teachings of the Gospel as from reason. They, then, who wish to be good citizens and discharge their duties faithfully may readily learn from Our letters the ideal of an upright life. In like manner, let the priests be persistent in keeping before the minds of the people the enactments of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, particularly those which inculcate the virtue of temperance, the frequent use of the sacraments and the observation of the just laws and institutions of the Republic.

Now, with regard to entering societies, extreme care should be taken not to be ensnared by error. And We wish to be understood as referring in a special manner to the working classes, who assuredly have the right to unite in associations for the promotion of their interests—a right acknowledged by the Church and unopposed by nature. But it is very important to take heed with whom they are to associate, lest, whilst seeking aid for the improvement of their condition, they may be imperiling far weightier interests. The most effectual precaution against this peril is to determine with themselves at no time or in any manner to be parties to the violation of justice. Any society, therefore, which is ruled by and servilely obeys persons who are not steadfast for the right and friendly to religion is capable of being extremely prejudicial to the interests, as well of individuals as of the community—beneficial it cannot be. Let this conclusion, therefore, remain firm—to shun, not only those associations which have openly been condemned by the judgment of the Church, but those also which, in the opinion of intelligent men, and especially of the Bishops, are regarded as suspicious and dangerous.

Nay rather, unless forced by necessity to do otherwise, Catholics ought to prefer to associate with Catholics, a course which will be very conducive to the safeguarding of their faith. As presidents of societies thus formed among themselves, it would be well to appoint either priests or upright laymen of weight and character; guided by whose counsels, they should endeavor peacefully to adopt and carry into effect such measures as may seem most advantageous to their interests, keeping in view the rules laid down by Us in Our Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. Let them,

however, never allow this to escape their memory; that whilst it is proper and desirable to assert and secure the rights of the many, yet this is not to be done by a violation of duty; and that these are very important duties; not to touch what belongs to another; to allow everyone to be free in the management of his own affairs; not to hinder anyone to dispose of his services when he please and where he please. The scenes of violence and riot which you witnessed last year in your own country sufficiently admonish you that America, too, is threatened with the audacity and ferocity of the enemies of public order. The state of the times, therefore, bids Catholics to labor for the tranquillity of the commonwealth, and for this purpose to obey the laws, abhor violence, and seek no more than equity or justice permits.

Towards these objects much may be contributed by those who have devoted themselves to writing, and in particular by those who are engaged on the daily press. We are aware that already there labor in this field many men of skill and experience, whose diligence demands words of praise rather than of encouragement. Nevertheless, since the thirst for reading and knowledge is so vehement and widespread amongst you, and since, according to circumstances, it can be productive of either good or evil, every effort should be made to increase the number of intelligent and well-disposed writers who take religion for their guide and virtue for their constant companion. And this seems all the more necessary in America, on account of the familiar intercourse and intimacy between Catholics and those who are estranged from the Catholic name, a condition of things which certainly exacts from our people great circumspection and more than ordinary firmness. It is necessary to instruct, admonish, strengthen and urge them on to the pursuit of virtue and to the faithful observance, amid so many occasions of stumbling, of their duties towards the Church. It is, of course, the proper function of the clergy to devote their care and energies to this work; but the age and the country require that journalists should be equally zealous in the same cause, and labor in it to the full extent of their powers. Let them, however, seriously reflect that their writings, if not positively prejudicial to religion, will surely be of slight service to it unless in concord of minds they all seek the same end. They who desire to be of real service to the Church, and with their pens heartily to defend the Catholic cause, should carry on the conflict with perfect unanimity and, as it were, with serried ranks, for they rather inflict than repel war if they waste their strength by discord. In like manner their work, instead of being profitable and fruitful, becomes injurious and disastrous whenever they presume to call before their tribunal the decisions and acts of the Bishops, and,

casting off due reverence, cavil and find fault; not perceiving how great a disturbance of order, how many evils are thereby produced. Let them, then, be mindful of their duty, and not overstep the proper limits of moderation. The Bishops, placed in the lofty position of authority, are to be obeyed, and suitable honor befitting the magnitude and sanctity of their office should be paid them. Now this reverence, "which it is lawful to no one to neglect," should of necessity be eminently conspicuous and exemplary in Catholic journalists. For journals, naturally circulating far and wide, come daily in the hands of everybody and exert no small influence upon the opinions and morals of the multitude. (Ep. Cognita Nobis ad Archiepp. et Epp. provinciarum, Taurinen. Mediolanen et Vercellen, xxv. Jan. an. MDCCCLXXXII.)

We have Ourself, on frequent occasions, laid down many rules respecting the duties of a good writer; many of which were unanimously inculcated as well by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore as by the Archbishops in their meeting at Chicago, in the year 1893. Let Catholic writers, therefore, bear impressed in their minds Our teachings on this point as well as yours; and let them resolve that their entire method of writing shall be thereby guided, if they indeed desire, as they ought to desire, to discharge their duties well.

Our thoughts now turn to those who dissent from Us in matters of Christian faith; and who shall deny that, with not a few of them, dissent is a matter of inheritance rather than of will? How solicitous We are of their salvation, with what ardor of soul We wish that they should be at length restored to the embrace of the Church, the common mother of all, Our Apostolic Epistle, "Præclara," has in very recent times declared. Nor are We destitute of all hope; for He is present and hath a care Whom all things obey and Who laid down His life that He might "gather in one the children of God who were dispersed." (John xi, 52.)

Surely We ought not to desert them or leave them to their fancies; but with mildness and charity draw them to Us, using every means of persuasion to induce them to examine closely every part of the Catholic doctrine, and to free themselves from preconceived notions. In this matter, if the first place belongs to the Bishops and clergy, the second belongs to the laity who have it in their power to aid the apostolic efforts of the clergy by the probity of their morals and the integrity of their lives. Great is the force of example; particularly with those who are earnestly seeking the truth, and who, from a certain inborn virtuous disposition, are striving to live an honorable and upright life, to which class very many of your fellow-citizens belong. If the spectacle of Christian virtues exerted the powerful influence over the

heathen, blinded, as they were, by inveterate superstition, which the records of history attest, shall We think it powerless to eradicate error in the case of those who have been initiated into the Christian religion?

Finally, We cannot pass over in silence those whose long continued, unhappy lot implores and demands succor from men of apostolic zeal; We refer to the Indians and the Negroes who are to be found within the confines of America, the greatest portion of whom have not yet dispelled the darkness of superstition. How wide a field for cultivation! How great a multitude of human beings to be made partakers of the blessings derived through JESUS CHRIST!

Meanwhile, as a presage of heavenly graces and a testimony of Our benevolence, We most lovingly in the Lord impart to you, Venerable Brethren, and to your clergy and people, Our Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, near St. Peter's, on the sixth day of January, the Epiphany of the Lord, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, the seventeenth of Our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER LEO XIII TO AMERICANS

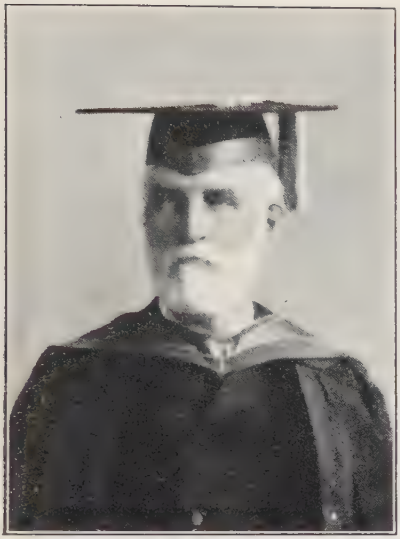
Concerning New Opinions, Virtue, Nature and Grace, with regard to "Americanism."

To Our Beloved Son, James Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Title Sancta Maria Beyond the Tiber, Archbishop of Baltimore, Leo XIII, Pope:

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Blessing!

We send to you by this letter a renewed expression of that good-will which We have not failed during the course of Our Pontificate to manifest frequently to you and your colleagues in the episcopate and to the whole American people, availing Ourselves of every opportunity offered Us by the progress of your church or whatever you have done for safeguarding and promoting Catholic interests. Moreover, We have often considered and admired the noble gifts of your nation, which enable the American people to be alive to every good work which promotes the good of humanity and the splendor of civilization. Although this letter is not intended, as preceding ones, to repeat the words of praise so often spoken, but rather to call attention to some things to be avoided and corrected; still, because it is conceived in the same spirit of apostolic charity which has inspired all Our letters, We shall expect that you will take it as another proof of Our love; the more so because it is intended to suppress certain contentions which have arisen lately among you to the detriment of the peace of many souls.

It is known to you, Beloved Son, that the biography of Isaac Thomas Hecker, especially through the action of those who undertook



Rev. W. C. Robinson,
Dean of the Law School,
Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan,
Dean of School of Philosophy,
Catholic University of America,
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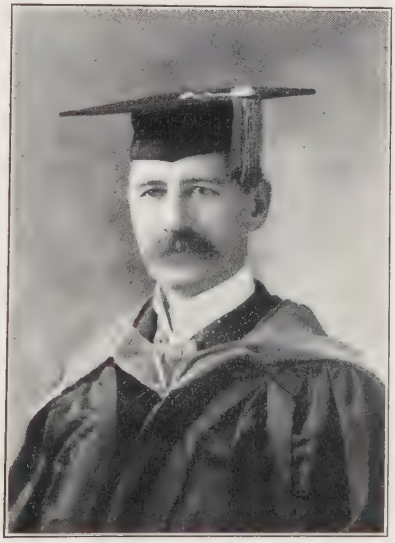
The Rt. Rev. Philip Garrigan, D. D.,
Late Vice-Rector of the
Catholic University of America,
now Bishop of Sioux City, Iowa.



Dr. Daniel W. Shea,
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to translate or interpret it in a foreign language, has excited not a little controversy, on account of certain opinions brought forward concerning the way of leading the Christian life.

We, therefore, on account of Our apostolic office, having to guard the integrity of the faith and the security of the faithful, are desirous of writing more at length to you concerning this whole matter.

The underlying principle of these new opinions is that, in order to more easily attract those who differ from her, the Church should shape her teachings more in accord with the spirit of the age and relax some of her ancient severity and make some concessions to novel ideas. Many think that these concessions should be made not only in regard to ways of living, but even in regard to doctrines which belong to the deposit of the faith. They contend that it would be opportune, in order to gain those who differ from us, to omit certain points of her teaching which are of lesser importance, and to tone down the meaning which the Church has always attached to them. It does not require many words, Beloved Son, to prove the falsity of these ideas if the nature and origin of the doctrine which the Church proposes are recalled to mind. The Vatican Council says concerning this point: "For the doctrine of faith which God has revealed has not been proposed, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human ingenuity, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully kept and to be infallibly declared. Hence that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our Holy Mother, the Church, has once declared, nor is that meaning ever to be departed from under the pretense or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them." (Constitutio de Fide Catholica, Chapter iv.)

We cannot consider as altogether blameless the silence which purposely leads to the omission or the neglect of some of the principles of Christian doctrine, for all the principles come from the same Author and Master, "the Only Begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father." (John i, 18.) They are adapted to all times and to all nations, as is clearly seen from the words of the Lord to His apostles: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations; teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii, 19, 20.) Concerning this point the Vatican Council says: "All those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed." (Const. de Fide, Chapter iii.)

Let it be far from anyone's mind to suppress any doctrine that has been handed down. Such a policy would rather tend to separate Catholics from the Church than to bring in those who differ. There is nothing closer to Our heart than to have those who are separated from the fold of Christ return to it, but in no other way than the way pointed out by Christ.

The rule of life laid down for Catholics is not of such a nature that it cannot accommodate itself to the exigencies of various times and places. The Church has, guided by her Divine Master, a kind and merciful spirit, for which reason she has been from the very beginning what St. Paul said of himself: "I became all things to all men that I might save all."

History proves clearly that the Apostolic See, to which has been entrusted not only the mission of teaching but of governing the whole Church, has continued "in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, and one and the same judgment." (Const. de Fide, Chapter iv.)

But in regard to ways of living she has been accustomed to so yield that, the divine principle of morals being kept intact, she has never neglected to accommodate herself to the character and genius of the nations which she embraces.

Who can doubt that she will act in this same spirit again if the salvation of souls requires it? In this matter the Church must be the judge, not private men who are often deceived by the appearance of the right. In this, all who wish to escape the blame of Our predecessor, Pius the Sixth, must concur. He condemned as injurious to the Church and the spirit of God Who guides her the doctrine contained in Proposition LXXVIII of the Synod of Pistoia, "that the discipline made and approved by the Church should be submitted to examination, as if the Church could frame a code of laws useless or heavier than human liberty can bear."

But, Beloved Son, in this present matter of which We are speaking, there is even a greater danger and a more manifest opposition to Catholic doctrine and discipline in that opinion of the lovers of novelty, according to which they hold that such liberty should be allowed in the Church that her supervision and watchfulness being in some sense lessened, allowance be granted the faithful, each to follow out more freely the leading of his own mind and the trend of his own proper activity. They are of the opinion that such liberty has its counterpart in the newly given civil freedom which is now the right and the foundation of almost every secular State. In the apostolic letters concerning the constitution of States, addressed by Us to the Bishops of the whole Church, We dis-

cussed this point at length; and there set forth the difference existing between the Church, which is a divine society, and all other social human organizations which depend simply upon free will and choice of men.

It is well, then, to particularly direct attention to the opinion which serves as the argument in behalf of this greater liberty sought for and recommended to Catholics.

It is alleged that now the Vatican decrees concerning the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff having been proclaimed that nothing further on that score can give any solicitude, and accordingly, since that has been safeguarded and put beyond question a wider and freer field both for thought and action lies open to each one. But such reasoning is evidently faulty, since, if we are to come to any conclusion from the infallible teaching authority of the Church, it should rather be that no one should wish to depart from it, and moreover that the minds of all being leavened and directed thereby, greater security from private error would be enjoyed by all. And further, those who avail themselves of such a way of reasoning seem to depart seriously from the overruling wisdom of the Most High, which wisdom, since it was pleased to set forth by most solemn decision the authority and the supreme teaching rights of the Apostolic See, willed that decision precisely in order to safeguard the minds of the Church's children from the dangers of these present times.

These dangers, viz., the confounding of license with liberty, the passion for discussing and pouring contempt upon any possible subject, the assumed right to hold any opinion one pleases upon any subject and to set them forth in print to the world, have so wrapped minds in darkness that there is now a greater need of the Church's teaching office than ever before, lest people become unmindful both of conscience and of duty.

We, indeed, have no thought of rejecting everything which modern industry and study have produced; so far from it that We welcome to the patrimony of truth and to an ever widening scope of public well-being whatsoever helps toward the progress of learning and virtue. Yet all this, to be of any solid benefit, nay, to have a real existence and growth, can only be on condition of recognizing the wisdom and authority of the Church.

Coming now to speak of the conclusions which have been deduced from the above opinions, and for them, We readily believe there was no thought of wrong or guile, yet the things themselves certainly merit some degree of suspicion. First, all external guidance is set aside for those souls who are striving after Christian perfection as being superfluous or indeed, not useful in any sense—the conten-

tion being that the Holy Spirit pours richer and more abundant graces than formerly upon the souls of the faithful, so that without human intervention He teaches and guides them by some hidden instinct of His own. Yet it is a sign of no small over-confidence to desire to measure and determine the mode of the Divine communication to mankind, since it wholly depends upon His good pleasure, and He is a most generous dispenser of His own gifts. "The Spirit breatheth whereso He listeth." (John iii, 8.)

"And to each one of us grace is given according to the measure of the giving of Christ." (Eph. iv, 7.)

And shall anyone who recalls the history of the apostles, the faith of the nascent church, the trials and deaths of the martyrs—and, above all those olden times so fruitful in saints—dare to measure our age with these, or affirm that they received less of the divine outpouring from the Spirit of Holiness? Not to dwell upon this point, there is no one who calls in question the truth that the Holy Spirit does work by a secret descent into the souls of the just and that He stirs them alike by warnings and impulses, since unless this were the case all outward defense and warning would be unavailing. "For if any persuades himself that he can give assent to saving, that is, to Gospel truth when proclaimed, without any illumination of the Holy Spirit, who gives unto all sweetness both to assent and to hold, such an one is deceived by a heretical spirit." (From the Second Council of Orange, Canon 7.)

Moreover, as experience shows, these monitions and impulses of the Holy Spirit are for the most part felt through the medium of the aid and light of an external teaching authority. To quote Saint Augustine: "He (the Holy Spirit) co-operates to the fruit gathered from the good trees, since He externally waters and cultivates them by the outward ministry of men, and yet of Himself bestows the inward increase." (De Gratia Christi, Chapter xix.) This, indeed, belongs to the ordinary law of God's loving providence that as He has decreed that men for the most part shall be saved by the ministry also of men, so has He wished that those whom He calls to the higher planes of holiness should be led thereto by men; hence St. Chrysostom declares we are taught of God through the instrumentality of men. (Homily I in Inscrib. Altar.) Of this a very striking example is given us in the very first days of the Church.

For though Saul, intent upon blood and slaughter, had heard the voice of Our Lord Himself and had asked, "What dost Thou wish me to do?" yet he was bidden to enter Damascus and search for Ananias. Acts ix: "Enter the city and it shall there be told thee what thou must do."

Nor can we leave out of consideration the truth that those who are striving after perfection, since by that fact they walk in no beaten or well-known path, are the most liable to stray, and hence have greater need than others of a teacher and guide. Such guidance has ever obtained in the Church; it has been the universal teaching of those who throughout the ages have been eminent for wisdom and sanctity—and hence to reject it would be to commit oneself to a belief at once rash and dangerous.

A thorough consideration of this point, in the supposition that no exterior guide is granted such souls, will make us see the difficulty of locating or determining the direction and the application of the more abundant influx of the Holy Spirit so greatly extolled by innovators. To practice virtue there is absolute need of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and yet We find those who are fond of novelty giving an unwarranted importance to the *natural* virtues, as though they better responded to the customs and necessities of the times and that having these as his outfit man becomes more ready to act and more strenuous in action. It is not easy to understand how persons possessed of Christian wisdom can either prefer natural to supernatural virtues or attribute to them a greater efficacy and fruitfulness. Can it be that nature conjoined with grace is weaker than when left to herself?

Can it be that those men illustrious for sanctity, whom the Church distinguishes and openly pays homage to, were deficient, came short in the order of nature and endowments, because they excelled in Christian strength? And although it be allowed at times to wonder at acts worthy of admiration which are the outcome of natural virtue,—is there anyone at all endowed simply with an outfit of natural virtue? Is there anyone not tried by mental anxiety, and this in no slight degree? Yet ever to master such, as also to preserve in its entirety the law of natural order, requires an assistance from on high. These single notable acts to which We have alluded will frequently upon a closer investigation be found to exhibit the appearance rather than the reality of virtue. Grant that it is virtue, unless we would "run in vain" and be unmindful of that eternal bliss which a good God in His mercy has destined for us, of what avail are natural virtues if they be not seconded by the gift of divine grace? Hence St. Augustine well says: "Wonderful is the strength, and swift the course, but outside the true path." For as the nature of man, owing to the primal fault, is inclined to evil and dishonor, yet by the help of grace is raised up, is borne along with a new greatness and strength, so, too, virtue, which is not the product of nature alone, but of grace also, is made fruitful unto everlasting life and takes on a more strong and abiding character.

This overesteem of natural virtue finds a method of expression in assuming to divide all virtue into active and passive, and it is alleged that whereas passive virtues found better place in past times, our age is to be characterized by the active. That such a division and distinction cannot be maintained is patent,—for there is not nor can there be merely passive virtue. "Virtue," says St. Thomas Aquinas, "designates the perfection of some faculty, but the end of such faculty is an act, and an act of virtue is naught else than the good use of free will," acting, that is to say, under the grace of God if the act be one of supernatural virtue.

He alone could wish that some Christian virtues be adapted to certain times and different ones for other times who is unmindful of the Apostle's words: "That those whom He foreknew, He predestined to be made conformable to the image of His Son." (Romans viii, 29.) Christ is the teacher and the exemplar of all sanctity, and to His standard must all those conform who wish for eternal life. Nor does Christ know any change as the ages pass, "for He is yesterday and to-day and the same forever." (Hebrews xiii, 8.) To the men of all ages was the precept given: "Learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart." (Matt. xi, 29.)

To every age has He been made manifest to us as obedient even unto death; in every age the Apostle's dictum has its force: "Those who are Christ's have crucified their flesh with its vices and concupiscences." Would to God that more nowadays practiced these virtues in the degree of the saints of the past times, who in humility, obedience and self-restraint were powerful "in word and in deed"—to the great advantage not only of religion, but of the State and the public welfare.

From this disregard of the evangelical virtues, erroneously styled passive, the step was a short one to the contempt of the religious life which has in some degree taken hold of minds. That such a value is generally held by the upholders of new views, We infer from certain statements concerning the vows which religious orders take. They say vows are alien to the spirit of our times, in that they limit the bounds of human liberty; that they are more suitable to weak than to strong minds; that so far from making for human perfection and the good of human organization, they are hurtful to both; but that this is as false as possible is clear from the practice and doctrine of the Church, since she has always given the very highest approval to the religious method of life; nor without good cause, for those who under the divine call have freely embraced that state of life did not content themselves with the observance of precepts, but, going forward to the evangelical counsels, showed themselves ready and valiant soldiers of Christ.

Shall We judge this to be a characteristic of weak minds, or shall We say that it is useless or hurtful to a more perfect state of life?

Those who so bind themselves by the vows of religion, far from having suffered a loss of liberty, enjoy that fuller and freer kind, that liberty, namely, by which Christ hath made us free. And this further view of theirs, namely, that the religious life is either entirely useless or of little service to the Church, besides being injurious to the religious orders, cannot be the opinion of anyone who has read the annals of the Church. Did not your country, the United States, derive the beginnings both of faith and of culture from the children of these religious families? to one of whom but very lately, a thing greatly to your praise, you have decreed that a statue be publicly erected. And even at the present time wherever the religious families are found, how speedy and yet how fruitful a harvest of good works do they not bring forth! How very many leave home and seek strange lands to impart the truth of the Gospel and to widen the bounds of civilization; and this they do with the greatest cheerfulness amid manifold dangers! Out of their number not less, indeed, than from the rest of the clergy, the Christian world finds the preachers of God's word, the directors of conscience, the teachers of youth and the Church itself, the examples of all sanctity.

Nor should any difference of praise be made between those who follow the active state of life and those who, charmed with solitude, give themselves to prayer and bodily mortification. And how much, indeed, of good report these have merited, and do merit, is known surely to all who do not forget that the "continual prayer of the just man" avails to placate and to bring down the blessings of Heaven when to such prayers bodily mortification is added.

But if there be those who prefer to form one body without the obligation of the vows let them pursue such a course. It is not new in the Church, nor is it in any wise censurable. Let them be careful, however, not to set forth such a state above that of religious orders. But rather, since mankind are more disposed at the present time to indulge themselves in pleasures, let those be held in greater esteem "who having left all things have followed Christ."

Finally, not to delay too long, it is stated that the way and method hitherto in use among Catholics for bringing back those who have fallen away from the Church should be left aside and another one chosen, in which matter it will suffice to note that it is not the part of prudence to neglect that which antiquity in its long experience has approved and which is also taught by apostolic authority. The Scriptures teach us that it is the duty of all to be solicitous for the salvation

of one's neighbor, according to the power and position of each. The faithful do this by religiously discharging the duties of their state of life, by the uprightness of their conduct, by their works of Christian charity and by earnest and continuous prayer to God. On the other hand, those who belong to the clergy should do this by an enlightened fulfillment of their preaching ministry, by the pomp and splendor of ceremonies, especially by setting forth that sound form of doctrine which St. Paul inculcated upon Titus and Timothy. But if, among the different ways of preaching the Word of God that one sometimes seems to be preferable, which is directed to non-Catholics, not in churches, but in some suitable place, in such wise that controversy is not sought, but friendly conference, such a method is certainly without fault. But let those who undertake such ministry be set apart by the authority of the Bishops, and let them be men whose science and virtue have been previously ascertained. For We think that there are many in your country who are separated from Catholic truth more by ignorance than by ill-will, who might perchance be more easily drawn to the one fold of Christ if the truth be set forth to them in a friendly and familiar way.

From the foregoing it is manifest, Beloved Son, that We are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called by some "Americanism." But if by this name are to be understood certain endowments of mind which belong to the American people, just as other characteristics belong to various other nations, and if, moreover, by it is designated your political condition and the laws and customs by which you are governed, there is no reason to take exception to the name. But if this is to be so understood that the doctrines which have been adverted to above are not only indicated, but exalted, there can be no manner of doubt that Our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops of America, would be the first to repudiate and condemn it as being most injurious to themselves and to their country. For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive and would have the Church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.

But the true church is one, as by unity of doctrine, so by unity of government, and she is Catholic also. Since God has placed the center and foundation of unity in the chair of Blessed Peter, she is rightly called the Roman Church, for "where Peter is, there is the Church." Wherefore, if anybody wishes to be considered a real Catholic, he ought to be able to say from his heart the selfsame words which Jerome addressed to Pope Damasus: "I, acknowledging no other leader than Christ, am bound in fellowship with Your Holiness; that is,

with the chair of Peter. I know that the Church was built upon him as its rock, and that whosoever gathereth not with you, scattereth."

We have thought it fitting, Beloved Son, in view of your high office, that this letter should be addressed specially to you. It will also be Our care to see that copies are sent to the Bishops of the United States, testifying again that love by which We embrace your whole country, a country which in past times has done so much for the cause of religion, and which will, by the Divine assistance, continue to do still greater things. To you, and to all the faithful in America, We most lovingly, as a pledge of Divine assistance, grant Our Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, the 22d day of January, 1899, and the thirty-first year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII.

To the Rulers and Nations of the World, Pope Leo XIII:

Health and Peace in the Lord!

The splendid tokens of public rejoicing which have come to Us from all sides in the whole course of last year, to commemorate Our Episcopal Jubilee, and which were lately crowned by the remarkable devotion of the Spanish nation, have afforded Us special joy, inasmuch as the unity of the Church and the admirable adhesion of her members to the Sovereign Pontiff have shone forth in this perfect agreement of concurring sentiments. During those days it seemed as if the Catholic world, forgetful of everything else, had centered its gaze and all its thoughts upon the Vatican. The special missions sent by kings and princes, the many pilgrimages, the letters We received so full of affectionate feeling, the sacred services, everything clearly brought out the fact that all Catholics are of one mind and of one heart in their veneration for the Apostolic See. And this was all the more pleasing and agreeable to Us, that it is entirely in conformity with Our intent and Our endeavors. For indeed well acquainted with our times, and mindful of the duties of Our ministry, We have sought constantly, during the whole course of Our Pontificate, and striven as far as it was possible, by teaching and action, to bind every nation and people more closely to Us, and make manifest everywhere the salutary influence of the See of Rome. Therefore do We most earnestly offer thanks in the first place to the goodness of God, by whose help and bounty We have been preserved to attain Our great age, and then next, to all the princes and rulers, to the Bishops and clergy, and to as many as have co-operated, by such repeated tokens of piety and reverence, to

honor Our character and office, while affording to Us personally such seasonable consolation.

A great deal, however, has been wanting to the entire fulness of that consolation. Amidst these very manifestations of public joy and reverence, Our thoughts went out towards the immense multitudes of those who were strangers to the gladness that filled all Catholic hearts, some because they lie in absolute ignorance of the Gospel, others because they dissent from the Catholic belief, though they bear the name of Christians.

This thought has been and is a source of deep concern to Us; for, it is impossible to think of such a large portion of mankind, deviating as it were from the right path, as they move away from Us, and not experience a sentiment of innermost grief.

But since We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty, Who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, and now that Our advanced age and the bitterness of anxious cares urge Us on towards the end common to every mortal, We feel drawn to follow the example of Our Redeemer and Master, Jesus Christ, Who, when about to return to heaven, implored of God, His Father, in earnest prayer, that His disciples and followers should be of one mind and of one heart: "I pray . . . that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in me, and I in Thee: that they also may be one in us." And as this divine prayer and supplication does not include only the souls who then believed in Jesus Christ, but also every one of those who were henceforth to believe in Him, this prayer holds out to Us no indifferent reason for confidently expressing Our hopes, and for making all possible endeavors, in order that the men of every race and clime should be called and moved to embrace the unity of divine faith.

Pressed to Our intent by charity that hastens fastest there where the need is greatest, We direct Our first thoughts to those most unfortunate of all nations who have never received the light of the Gospel or who, after having possessed it, have lost it through neglect or the vicissitudes of time: hence do they ignore God and live in the depths of error. Now, as all salvation comes from Jesus Christ, "for there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved," Our ardent desire is that the most Holy name of Jesus Christ should rapidly pervade and fill every land. And here indeed is a duty which the Church, faithful to the divine mission entrusted to her, has never neglected. What has been the object of her labors for more than nineteen centuries? Is there any work she has undertaken with greater zeal and constancy than that of bringing the nations of the earth to

the truth and principles of Christianity? To-day, as ever, by Our authority, the heralds of the Gospel constantly cross the seas to reach the farthest corners of the earth; and We pray God daily that in His goodness He may deign to increase the number of His ministers who are really worthy of this apostolate, and who are ready to sacrifice their convenience, their health and their very life, if need be, in order to extend the frontiers of the Kingdom of Christ.

Ah, but Thou above all, Savior and Father of mankind, CHRIST JESUS, hasten and do not delay to bring about what Thou didst once promise to do, that when lifted up from the earth, Thou wouldst draw all things to Thyself. Come then at last and manifest Thyself to the immense multitude of souls who have not felt as yet the ineffable blessings which Thou hast earned for men with Thy blood: rouse those who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, that enlightened by the rays of Thy wisdom and virtue, in Thee and by Thee, "they may be made perfect in one."

As We consider the mystery of this unity, We see before Us all the countries which have long since passed, by the mercy of God, from time-worn error to the wisdom of the Gospel. Nor could We indeed recall anything more pleasing or better calculated to extol the work of Divine Providence than the memory of the days of yore when the faith that had come down from heaven was looked upon as the common inheritance of one and all; and civilized nations, separated by distance, character and habits, in spite of frequent disagreements and warfare on other points, were united by Christian faith in all that concerned religion. The recollection of that time caused Us to regret all the more deeply that as the ages roll by the ways of suspicion and hatred arose, and great and flourishing nations were dragged away in an evil hour from the bosom of the Roman Church. In spite of that, however, we trust in the mercy of God's almighty power, in Him Who alone can fix the hour of His benefits, and Who has power to incline man's will as He pleases, and We turn to those same nations, exhorting and beseeching them with fatherly love to put an end to their dissensions and return again to unity.

First of all, then, We passed an affectionate look upon the East, from whence in the beginning came forth the salvation of the world. Yes, and the yearning desire of Our heart did thus conceive the hope that the day is not far distant when the Eastern churches, so illustrious in their ancient faith and glorious past, will return to the fold they have abandoned. We hope it all the more that the distance separating them from us is not so great: nay, with some few exceptions, we agree so entirely on other heads, that in defense of the Catholic faith we often

have recourse to reasons and testimony borrowed from the teaching, the rites and customs of the East. The principal subject of contention is the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. But let them look back to the early years of their existence, let them consider the sentiments entertained by their forefathers and examine what the oldest traditions testify, and it will indeed become evident to them that Christ's divine utterance, "thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church," has undoubtedly been realized in the Roman Pontiffs. Many of these latter, in the first ages of the Church, were chosen from the East, and foremost among them, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, Eleutherus, Zosimus and Agatho; and of these a great number, after governing the Church in wisdom and sanctity, consecrated their ministry with the shedding of their blood. The time, the reasons, the promoters of the unfortunate division, are well known. Before the day when man separated what God had joined together, the name of the Apostolic See was held in reverence by all the nations of the Christian world, and the East, like the West, agreed without hesitation in its obedience to the Pontiff of Rome, as the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and therefore the Vicar of Christ here on earth.

And accordingly if we refer to the beginning of the dissension, we shall see that Photius himself was careful to send his advocates to Rome, on the matters that concerned him; and Pope Nicholas I sent his legates to Constantinople from the Eternal City, without the slightest opposition: "in order to examine the case of Ignatius the Patriarch, with all diligence, and to bring back to the Apostolic See a full and accurate report," so that the history of the whole negotiation is a manifest confirmation of the primacy of the Roman See, with which the dissension then began. Finally, in two great councils, the second of Lyons and that of Florence, Latins and Greeks, as is notorious, easily agreed and all unanimously proclaimed as dogma the supreme power of the Roman Pontiffs.

We have recalled these things intentionally, for they constitute an invitation to peace and reconciliation, and with all the more reason that, in our own days, it would seem as if there were a more conciliatory spirit toward Catholics on the part of the Eastern churches, and even some degree of kindly feeling. To mention an instance, those sentiments were lately made manifest, when some of our faithful traveled to the East on a holy enterprise, and received so many proofs of courtesy and good-will. Therefore "Our mouth is open to you," to you all, of Greek or other Oriental rites, who are separated from the Catholic Church. We earnestly desire that each and every one of you should meditate upon the words, so full of gravity and love, ad-

dressed by Bessarion to your forefathers: "What answer shall we give to God, when He comes to ask why we have separated from our brethren: to Him Who, to unite us and bring us into one fold, came down from heaven, was incarnate and was crucified? What will our defense be in the eyes of posterity? Oh, my venerable Fathers! we must not suffer this to be; we must not entertain this thought; we must not thus so ill provide for ourselves and for our brethren."

Weigh carefully in your minds, and before God, the nature of Our request. It is not for any human motive, but impelled by divine charity, and a desire for the salvation of all, that We advise the reconciliation and union with the Church of Rome; and We mean a perfect and complete union, such as could not subsist in any way, if nothing else were brought about but a certain kind of agreement in the tenets of belief and an intercourse of fraternal love. The true union between Christians is that which JESUS CHRIST, the Author of the Church, instituted and desired, and which consists in a unity of faith and a unity of government. Nor is there any reason for you to fear on that account, that We or any of Our successors will ever diminish your rights, the privileges of your patriarchs or the established ritual of any one of your churches. It has been, and always will be the intent and tradition of the Apostolic See to make a large allowance in all that is right and good, for the primitive traditions and special customs of every nation. On the contrary, if you re-establish union with us, you will see how, by God's bounty, the glory and dignity of your churches will be remarkably increased. May God, then, in His goodness, hear the prayer that you yourselves address to Him: "Make the schisms of the churches cease" and "assemble those who are dispersed, bring back those who are, and unite them to thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." May you thus return to that one holy faith which has been handed down both to us and to you from time immemorial; which your forefathers preserved untainted, and which was enhanced by the rival splendor of the virtues, the great genius and the sublime learning of Athanasius and St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzum and St. John Chrysostom, the two saints who bore the name of Cyril, and so many other great men, whose glory belongs as a common inheritance to the East and to the West.

Suffer that We should address you more particularly, nations of the Slavonic race, you whose glorious name and deeds are attested by many an ancient record. You know full well how much the Slavs are indebted to the merits of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, to whose memories We Ourselves rendered due honor only a few years ago. Their virtues and their labors were to great numbers of your race

the source of civilization. And hence the admirable interchange which existed for so long between the Slavonic nations and the Pontiffs of Rome, of favors on the one side and of filial devotion on the other. If in unhappy times, many of your forefathers were separated from the faith of Rome, consider now what priceless benefits a return to unity would bring to you. The Church is anxious to welcome you also to her arms, that she may give you manifold aids to salvation, prosperity and grandeur.

With no less affection do We now look upon the nations who, at a more recent date, were separated from the Roman Church by an extraordinary revolution of things and circumstances. Let them forget the various events of times gone by, let them raise their thoughts far above all that is human, and seeking only truth and salvation, reflect within their hearts, upon the Church as it was constituted by Christ. If they will but compare that Church with their own communions, and consider what the actual state of religion is in these, they will easily acknowledge that, forgetful of their early history, they have drifted away on many and important points, into the novelty of various errors; nor will they deny that of what may be called the patrimony of truth, which the authors of those innovations carried away with them in their desertion, there now scarcely remains to them any article of belief that is really certain and supported by authority.

Nay, more, things have already come to such a pass that many do not even hesitate to root up the very foundation upon which alone rests all religion and the hope of men, to wit, the divine nature of Jesus Christ our Savior. And again, whereas formerly they used to assert that the books of the Old and New Testaments were written under the inspiration of God, they now deny them that authority; this indeed was an inevitable consequence when they granted to all the right of private interpretation. Hence, too, the acceptance of individual conscience as the sole guide and rule of conduct to the exclusion of any other: hence those conflicting opinions and numerous sects that fall away so often into the doctrines of naturalism and rationalism. Therefore is it, that, having lost all hope of an agreement in their persuasions, they now proclaim and recommend a union of brotherly love. And rightly, too, no doubt, for we should all be united by the bond of mutual charity. Our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined it most emphatically, and wished that this love of one another should be the mark of His disciples. But how can hearts be united in perfect charity where minds do not agree in faith? It is on this account that many of those We allude to, men of sound judgment and seekers after truth, have looked to the Church for a sure way of sal-

vation; for they clearly understood that they could never be united with JESUS CHRIST as their Head if they were not members of His Body, which is the Church; nor really acquire the true Christian faith if they rejected the legitimate teaching confided to Peter and his successors. Such men as these have recognized in the Church of Rome the form and image of the true Church, which is clearly made manifest by the marks that God, her Author, placed upon her: and not a few who were possessed with penetrating judgment and a special talent for historical research have shown forth in their remarkable writings the uninterrupted succession of the Church of Rome from the Apostles, the integrity of her doctrine and the consistency of her rule and discipline. With the example of such men before you, Our heart appeals to you even more than Our words, to you, Our brethren, who for three centuries and more differ from us on Christian faith; and to you all likewise who, in later times, for any reason whatever, have turned away from Us: "Let us all meet into the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God." Suffer that we should invite you to the unity which has ever existed in the Catholic Church and can never fail; suffer that We should lovingly hold out Our hand to you. The Church, as the common Mother of all, has long been calling you back to her, the Catholics of the world await you with brotherly love, that you may render holy worship to God, together with us, united in perfect charity by the profession of one Gospel, one Faith and one Hope.

To complete the harmony of this most desired unity, it remains for Us to address all those throughout the world whose salvation has long been the object of Our thoughts and watchful cares; We mean Catholics whom the profession of the Roman faith, while it renders them obedient to the Apostolic See, preserves in union with JESUS CHRIST. There is no need to exhort them to true and holy unity, since through the divine goodness they already possess it; nevertheless, they must be admonished, lest under pressure of the growing perils on all sides around them, through negligence or ignorance, they should lose this great blessing of God. For this purpose let them take their rule of thought and action as the occasion may require, from those instructions which at other times We have addressed to Catholic peoples, either collectively or individually; and, above all, let them lay down for themselves, as a supreme law, to yield obedience in all things to the teaching and authority of the Church, in no narrow or mistrustful spirit, but with their whole soul and all promptitude of will. On this account let them consider how injurious to Christian unity is that error which, in various forms of opinion, has oftentimes obscured, nay,

even destroyed, the true character and idea of the Church. For by the will and ordinance of God, its Founder, it is a society perfect in its kind, whose office and mission is to school mankind in the precepts and teachings of the Gospel, and by safeguarding the integrity of morals and the exercise of Christian virtue, to lead men to that happiness which is held out to every one in heaven. And since it is, as We have said, a perfect society, therefore it is endowed with a living power and efficacy, which is not derived from any external source, but in virtue of the ordinance of God, and its own constitution, inherent in its very nature; for the same reason it has an inborn power of making laws, and justice requires that in its exercise it should be dependent on no one; it must likewise have freedom in other matters appertaining to its rights. But this freedom is not of a kind to occasion rivalry or envy, for the Church does not covet power nor is she urged on by any selfish desire, but this one thing does she wish, this only does she seek, to preserve amongst men the duties which virtue imposes and by this means and in this way to provide for their everlasting welfare. Therefore is she wont to be yielding and indulgent as a mother; yea, it not unfrequently happens that in making large concessions to the exigencies of states, she refrains from the exercise of her own rights, as the compacts often concluded with civil governments abundantly testify. Nothing is more foreign to her disposition than to encroach on the rights of the civil power; but the civil power in its turn must respect the rights of the Church and beware of arrogating them in any degree to itself. Now what is the ruling spirit of the times when actual events and circumstances are taken into account? No other than this; it has been the fashion to regard the Church with suspicion, to despise and hate and spitefully calumniate her—and more intolerable still, men strive with might and main to bring her under the sway of civil governments. Hence it is that her property has been plundered and her liberty curtailed; hence, again, that the training of her priesthood has been beset with difficulties; that laws of exceptional rigor have been passed against her clergy; that religious orders, those excellent safeguards of Christianity, have been suppressed under the ban; in a word, the principles and practice of the Regalists have been revived with increased virulence. Such a policy is a violation of the most sacred rights of the Church, and it breeds enormous evils to States, for the very reason that it is in open conflict with the purposes of God. When God, in His most wise providence, placed over human society both temporal and spiritual authority, He intended them to remain distinct indeed, but by no means disconnected and at war with each other. On the contrary,

Most Rev. William H. Elder,
Archbishop of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Most Rev. Patrick J. Ryan,
Archbishop of Philadelphia, Pa.

both the will of God and the common weal of human society imperatively require that the civil power should be in accord with the ecclesiastical in its rule and administration. Hence the State has its own peculiar rights and duties, the Church, likewise, has hers; but it is necessary that each should be united with the other in the bonds of concord. Thus will it come about that the close mutual relations of Church and State will be freed from the present turmoil which, for manifold reasons, is ill-advised and most distressing to all well-disposed persons; furthermore, it will be brought to pass, that without confusion or separation of the peculiar interests of each, the people will "*render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*"

There is likewise a great danger threatening unity on the part of that association which goes by the name of the Society of Freemasons, whose fatal influence for a long time past oppresses Catholic nations in particular. Favored by the agitations of the times, and waxing insolent in its power and resources, and success, it strains every nerve to consolidate its sway and enlarge its sphere. It has already sallied forth from its hiding places, where it hatched its plots into the throng of cities, and, as if to defy the Almighty, has set up its throne in this very city of Rome, the capital of the Catholic world. But what is most disastrous is that wherever it has set its foot it penetrates into all ranks and departments of the commonwealth, in the hope of obtaining at last supreme control. This is indeed a great calamity; for its depraved principles and iniquitous designs are well known. Under the pretense of vindicating the rights of man and of reconstituting society it attacks Christianity; it rejects revealed doctrine, denounces practices of piety, the divine Sacraments, and every sacred thing as superstition; it strives to eliminate the Christian character from marriage and the family, and the education of the youth, and from every form of instruction, whether public or private, and to root out from the minds of men all respect for authority, whether human or divine. On its own part it preaches the worship of nature, and maintains that by the principles of nature are truth and probity and justice to be measured and regulated. In this way, as is quite evident, man is being driven to adopt customs and habits of life akin to those of the heathen, only more corrupt in proportion as the incentives to sin are more numerous. Although We have spoken on this subject in the strongest terms before, yet We are led by our apostolic watchfulness to urge it once more, and We repeat Our warning again and again, that in face of such an imminent peril no precaution, however great, can be looked upon as sufficient. May God in His mercy

bring to naught their impious designs; nevertheless let all Christians know and understand that the shameful yoke of Freemasonry must be shaken off once and for all; and let them be the first to shake it off who are most galled by its oppression—the men of Italy and of France. With what weapons and by what method this may best be done We Ourselves have already pointed out: The victory cannot be doubtful to those who trust in that leader whose divine words still remain in all their force, "I have overcome the world."

Were this twofold danger averted and governments and State restored to the unity of faith, it is wonderful what efficacious remedies for evils and abundant store of benefits would ensue. We will touch upon the principal ones.

The first regards the dignity and office of the Church. She would see that honor which is her due, and she would go on her way free from envy and strong in her liberty, as the minister of Gospel truth and grace to the notable welfare of States. For as she has been given by God as a teacher and guide to the human race, she can contribute assistance which is peculiarly adapted to direct even the most radical transformations of time to the common good, to happily solve the most complicated questions, and to promote uprightness and justice, which are the most solid foundations of the commonwealth.

Moreover, there would be a marked increase of union among the nations, a thing most desirable at this time to ward off the horrors of war.

We behold the condition of Europe. For many years past, peace has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions, almost all the nations are vying with one another in equipping themselves with military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental direction and control to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier's life; robust young men are taken from agriculture or ennobling studies, or trade, or the arts, to be put under arms. Hence the treasuries of States are exhausted by the enormous expenditure, the national resources are frittered away, and private fortunes impaired; and this, as it were, armed peace, which now prevails, cannot last much longer. Can this be the normal condition of human society? Yet we cannot escape from this situation and obtain true peace except by the aid of JESUS CHRIST. For to repress ambition and covetousness and envy, the chief instigators of war, nothing is more fitted than the Christian virtues, and in particular the virtue of justice; for by its exercise both the law of nations and the faith of treaties may be maintained inviolate, and the bonds of brotherhood

continue unbroken, if men are but convinced that "justice exalteth a nation."

As in its external relations, so in the internal life of the State itself, the Christian virtues will provide a guarantee of the common weal much more sure and stronger far than any which laws or armies can afford. For there is no one who does not see that the dangers to public security and order are daily on the increase, since seditious societies continue to conspire for the overthrow and ruin of States, as the frequency of their atrocious outrages testifies. There are two questions, forsooth, the one called the *Social,* the other the *Political* question, which are discussed with the greatest vehemence. Both of them without doubt are of the last importance; and though praiseworthy efforts have been put forth in studies and measures and experiments for their wise and just solution, yet nothing could contribute more to this purpose, than that the minds of men in general should be imbued with right sentiments of duty from the internal principle of Christian faith. We treated expressly of the social question in this sense, a short time ago, from the standpoint of principles drawn from the Gospel and natural reason. As regards the political question, which aims at reconciling liberty with authority, two things which many confound in theory and separate too widely in practice, most efficient aid may be derived from Christian philosophy. For when this point has been settled, and recognized by common agreement, that whatsoever the form of government the authority is from God, reason at once perceives that in some there is a legitimate right to command, in others, the corresponding duty to obey, and that without prejudice to their dignity, since obedience is rendered to God rather than to man; and God has denounced the most rigorous judgment against those in authority, if they fail to represent Him with uprightness and justice. Then the liberty of the individual can afford ground of suspicion or envy to no one, since without injury to any, his conduct will be guided by truth and rectitude and whatever is allied to public order. Lastly, if it be considered what influence is possessed by the Church, the mother of, and peace-maker between, rulers and people, whose mission it is to help them both with her authority and counsel, then it will be most manifest how much it concerns the common weal that all nations should resolve to unite in the same belief and the same profession of the Christian faith.

With these thoughts in Our mind, and ardent yearnings in Our heart, We see from afar what would be the new order of things that would arise upon the earth, and nothing could be sweeter to Us than the contemplation of the benefits that would flow from it. It can

hardly be imagined what immediate and rapid progress would be made all over the earth, in all manner of greatness and prosperity, with the establishment of tranquillity and peace: the promotion of studies, the founding and the multiplying on Christian lines, according to Our directions, of associations for the cultivators of the soil, for workmen and tradesmen, through whose agency rapacious usury would be put down, and a large field opened up for useful labors.

And these abundant benefits would not be confined within the limits of civilized nations, but, like an overcharged river, would flow far and wide. It must be remembered, as We observed at the outset, that an immense number of races have been waiting all through the long ages, to receive the light of truth and civilization. Most certainly, the counsels of God, with regard to the eternal salvation of peoples, are far removed above the understanding of man; yet, if miserable superstition still prevails in so many parts of the world, the blame must be attributed in no small measure to religious dissensions. For as far as it is given to human reason to judge from the nature of events, this seems without doubt to be the mission assigned by God to Europe, to go on by degrees carrying Christian civilization to every portion of the earth. The beginnings and first growth of this great work, which sprang from the labors of former centuries, were rapidly receiving large development, when all of a sudden the discord of the sixteenth century broke out. Christendom was torn with quarrels and dissensions, Europe exhausted with contests and wars, and the sacred missions felt the baneful influence of the times. While the causes of dissension still remain, what wonder is it that so large a portion of mankind is held enthralled with barbarous customs and insane rites? Let us, one and all, then, for the sake of the common welfare, labor with equal assiduity to restore the ancient concord. In order to bring about this concord, and spread abroad the benefits of the Christian revelation, the present is the most seasonable time; for never before have the sentiments of human brotherhood penetrated so deeply into the souls of men, and never in any age has man been seen to seek out his fellowmen more eagerly, in order to know them better, and to help them. Immense tracts of land and sea are traversed with incredible rapidity and thus extraordinary advantages are afforded, not only for commerce and scientific investigation, but also for the propagation of the Word of God, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.

We are well aware of the long labors involved in the restoration of that order of things which We desire; and it may be that there are those who consider that We are far too sanguine, and look for things

that are rather to be wished for than expected. But We unhesitatingly place all Our hope and confidence in the Saviour of mankind, JESUS CHRIST, well remembering what great things have been achieved in times past, by the folly of the Cross and its preaching, to the astonishment and confusion of the "wisdom of this world." We beg of princes and rulers of States, appealing to their statesmanship and earnest solicitude for the people, to weigh Our counsels in the balance of truth and second them with their authority and favor. If only a portion of the looked-for results should come about, it will prove no inconsiderable boon in the general decadence, when the intolerable evils of the present day bring with them the dread of further evils in days to come.

The last years of the past century left Europe worn out with disasters, and panic-stricken with the turmoils of revolution. And why should not our present century, which is now hastening to its close, by a reversion of circumstances, bequeath to mankind the pledges of concord with the prospect of the great benefits which are bound up in the unity of the Christian faith?

May God, Who "is rich in mercy and in Whose power are the times and moments," grant Our wishes and desires, and in His great goodness hasten the fulfillment of that divine promise of JESUS CHRIST: "There will be one fold and one Shepherd."

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 20th day of June, 1894, in the seventeenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Study of the Sacred Scripture.

To Our Venerable Brethren, All Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic World, in Grace and Communion with the Apostolic See, Pope Leo XIII:

VENERABLE Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

The God of all providence, Who, in the adorable designs of His love, at first elevated the human race to the participation of the divine nature, and afterward delivered it from the universal guilt and ruin, restoring it to its primitive dignity, has in consequence bestowed upon man a splendid gift and safeguard—making known to him, by supernatural means, the hidden mysteries of His divinity, His wisdom and His mercy. For although in divine revelation there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of unassisted reason, and which are made the objects of such revelation in order "that all may come to know them with facility, certainty and safety from error, yet not on this account can supernatural revelation be said to be absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordinated man to a supernatural end." This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the Universal Church, is contained both in unwritten tradition and in written books, which are therefore called sacred and canonical, because "being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Father, and as such have been delivered to the Church." This belief has been perpetually held and professed by the Church in regard to the books of both testaments; and there are well-known documents of the gravest kind coming down to us from the earliest times, which proclaim that God, Who spoke first by the Prophets, then by His own mouth, and, lastly, by the Apostles, composed also the canonical Scriptures, and that these are His own oracles and words—a Letter written by our Heavenly Father and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country. If, then, such and so great is the excellence and the dignity of the Scriptures, that God Himself has composed them, and they treat of God's marvelous mysteries, counsels and works, it follows that the branch of Sacred Theology which is concerned with the de-

fense and elucidation of these divine books must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

Now We, who by the help of God and not without fruit, have by frequent Letters and exhortation endeavored to promote other branches of study which seem capable of advancing the glory of God and contributing to the salvation of souls, have for a long time cherished the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges and even compels us not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of JESUS CHRIST, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are not ignorant, indeed, Venerable Brethren, that there are not a few Catholics, men of talent and learning, who do devote themselves with ardor to the defense of its sacred writings and to making them better known and understood. But whilst giving to these the commendation they deserve, We cannot but earnestly exhort others also, from whose skill and piety and learning we have a right to expect good results, to give themselves to the same most praiseworthy work. It is Our wish and fervent desire to see an increase in the number of the approved and persevering laborers in the cause of Holy Scripture; and more especially that those whom Divine Grace has called to Holy Orders, should, day by day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating and explaining it.

HOLY SCRIPTURE MOST PROFITABLE TO DOCTRINE AND MORALITY.

Among the reasons for which the Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—in addition to its own excellence and to the homage which we owe to God's Word—the chief of all is the innumerable benefits of which it is the source; according to the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself, Who says: "All Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work." That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scripture to men, is shown by the example of Christ our Lord and of His Apostles. For He Himself, Who "obtained authority by miracles, merited belief by authority and by belief drew to Himself the multitude," was accustomed, in the exercise of His divine mission, to appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them at times to prove that He is sent by God and is God Himself. From them he cites instructions for His

disciples and confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; He quotes them against Sadducees and Pharisees, and retorts from them upon Satan himself, when he dares to tempt Him. At the close of His life, His utterances are from Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that he expounds to His disciples after His resurrection until He ascends to the glory of His Father. Faithful to His precepts, the Apostles, although He Himself granted "signs and wonders to be done by their hands," nevertheless used with the greatest effort the sacred writings, in order to persuade the nations everywhere of the wisdom of Christianity, to conquer the obstinacy of the Jews and to suppress the outbreak of heresy. This is plainly seen in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter: these were often little less than a series of citations from the Old Testament, making in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same thing in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and in the Catholic Epistles; and most remarkably of all in the words of Him Who "boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel in order that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterward say with confidence, 'The arms of our warfare are not carnal but mighty unto God.'" Let all, therefore, especially the novices of the ecclesiastical army, understand how deeply the sacred Books should be esteemed, and with what eagerness and reverence they should approach this great arsenal of heavenly arms. For those whose duty it is to handle Catholic doctrine before the learned or unlearned will nowhere find more ample matter or more abundant exhortation, whether on the subject of God, the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or of the works which display His glory and His love. Nowhere is there anything more full or more express on the subject of the Saviour of the world than is to be found in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, "To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ." In its pages His Image stands out, living and breathing; diffusing everywhere around consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue and attraction to the love of God. And as to the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office and her gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments, that St. Jerome again most truly says: "A man who is well grounded in the testimonies of the Scripture is the bulwark of the Church." And if we come to morality and discipline, an Apostolic man finds in the sacred writings abundant and excellent assistance; most holy precepts, gentle and strong exhortation, splendid examples of every virtue and finally, the promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punish-

ment, uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

And it is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, arising from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which gives authority to the sacred orator, fills him with apostolic liberty of speech and communicates force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and strength of the Word of God speak "not in word only but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost and in much fullness." Hence those preachers are foolish and improvident who, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, use no words but those of human science and human prudence, trusting to their own reasonings rather than to those of God. Their discourses may be brilliant and fine, but they must be feeble and they must be cold, for they are without the fire of the utterance of God, and they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: "for the Word of God is living and effectual and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit." But, indeed, all those who have a right to speak are agreed that there is in the Holy Scripture an eloquence that is wonderfully varied and rich, and worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine thoroughly understood and has abundantly set forth. This also is confirmed by the best preachers of all ages, who have gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to the assiduous use of the Bible, and to devout meditation on its pages.

The Holy Fathers well knew all this by practical experience, and they never cease to extol the sacred Scripture and its fruits. In innumerable passages of their writings, we find them applying to it such phrases as "an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine," or "an overflowing fountain of salvation," or putting it before us as fertile pastures and beautiful gardens, in which the flock of the Lord is marvelously refreshed and delighted. Let us listen to the words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Nepotian: "Often read the Divine Scriptures; yea, let holy reading be always in thy hand; study that which thou thyself must preach. . . . Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading." St. Gregory the Great, than whom no one has more admirably described the pastoral office, writes in this same sense: "Those," he says, "who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease the study of the written Word of God." St. Augustine, however, warns us that "vainly does the preacher utter the Word of God exteriorly unless he listens to it interiorly;" and St. Gregory instructs sacred orators "first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves, and then to carry it to others, lest in

reproving others, they forget themselves." Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been uttered long before by the Apostolic voice which had learned its lesson from Christ Himself, Who "began to do and to teach." It was not to Timothy alone, but to the whole order of the clergy that the command was addressed: "Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee." For the saving and for the perfection of ourselves and others, there is at hand the very best of help in the Holy Scriptures, as the book of Psalms, among others, so constantly insists; for those only will find it who bring to this divine reading not only docility and attention, but also piety and an innocent life. For the Sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, it contains things of the deepest importance, which in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the "coming" of the same Holy Spirit; that is to say, His light and His grace; and these, as the royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by the holiness of life.

What the Bible Owes to the Catholic Church.

It is in this that the watchful care of the Church shines forth conspicuously. By admirable laws and regulations, she has always shown herself solicitous that "the celestial treasure of the Sacred Books so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should not lie neglected." She has prescribed that a considerable portion of them shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has ordered that in cathedral churches, in monasteries, and in other convents in which study can conveniently be pursued, they shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and on solemn feasts. Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been continued, from century to century, that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and has borne such ample fruit.

And here, in order to strengthen Our teaching and Our exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture. If we consider the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp, or the apologists, such as St. Justin and St. Irenaeus, we find that in their letters and their

books, whether in defense of the Catholic faith, or in commendation, they draw faith, strength and unction from the Word of God. When there arose, in various sees, catechetical and theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and Antioch, there was little taught in those schools but what was contained in the reading, the interpretation and the defense of the divine written word. From them came forth numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the approbation of the golden age of Biblical exegesis. In the Eastern Church, the greatest name of all is Origen—a man remarkable alike for penetration of genius and for persevering labor; from whose numerous works and his great Hexapla almost all have drawn that came after him. Others who have widened the field of this science may also be named as especially eminent; thus, Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine, of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Capadocia, of St. Basil the Great and the two St. Gregories, of Nazianzum and Nyssa; Antioch, of St. John Chrysostom, in whom the science of Scripture was rivaled by the splendor of his eloquence. In the Western Church there were many names as great: Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great; most famous of all, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvelously acute in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it for the promotion of the Catholic truth, and the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his preëminent knowledge of Scripture and his labors in promoting its use, the name of the "great Doctor." From this period down to the eleventh century, although Biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigor and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumentality of the clergy. It was their care and solicitude that selected the best and most useful things that the ancients had left, arranged them in order and published them with additions of their own,—as did St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede and Alcuin, among the most prominent; it was they who illustrated the sacred pages with "glosses" or short commentaries, as we see in Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon, or expended fresh labor in securing their integrity, as did St. Peter Damian and Blessed Lanfranc. In the twelfth century many took up with great success the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this kind, St. Bernard is preëminent; and his writings, it may be said, are Scripture all through. With the age of the scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin

version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica,* or lists of emendations, which they have left. But they expended their labors and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words; the assignment of the value of each "sense" in theology; the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts; the investigation of the objects of the writers; the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence, and clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume. The valuable work of the scholastics in Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; and in this respect the greatest name among them all is St. Thomas of Aquino.

When our predecessor, Clement V, established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation in the original text of the Bible, as well as in the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a strong impetus to Biblical studies. In a brief space of time, innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were diffused throughout the Catholic world; so honored and loved was Holy Scripture during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienne and that of Trent; men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances, and by the tribute of their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich stores of ancient times, but prepared the way for the succeeding century, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well known and We recall it with pleasure, that Our predecessors, from Pius IV to Clement VIII, caused to be prepared the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, which, having been published by the command and authority of Sixtus V and of the same Clement, are now in common use. At this time, moreover, were carefully brought out various other ancient versions of the Bible, and the Polyglots of Antwerp and of Paris, most important for the investigation of the true meaning of the text; nor is there any one Book of either Testament which did not find more than one expositor, nor any grave question which did not profitably exercise the ability of many inquirers, among whom there are not a few,—more especially of those who made most use of the Fathers,—

who have acquired great reputation. From that time downwards the labor and solicitude of Catholics have never been wanting; for, as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on Biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against *rationalism* with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. The calm and fair consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed in taking due measures to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by Almighty God for the protection and glory of His Holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require, any stimulation from without.

How to Study Holy Scripture.

We must now, Venerable Brethren, as Our purpose demands, impart to you such counsels as seem best suited for carrying out successfully the study of Biblical science.

But first it must be clearly understood whom we have to oppose and contend against, and what are their tactics and their arms. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of Faith. Now, we have to meet the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture, at all; they see, instead, only the forgeries and the falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories; the prophecies and the oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and the wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks or myths; and the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all. These detestable errors, whereby they think they destroy the truth of the divine Books, are obtruded on the world as the peremptory pronouncements of a certain newly-invented "free science;" a science, however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are some of them who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God and Christ, the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and

Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honorable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences, who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and the arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found everywhere; and they are in possession of numerous schools taken by violence from the Church, in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and unformed minds of the young to the contempt of the Holy Scripture. Should not these things, Venerable Brethren, stir up and set on fire the heart of every pastor, so that to this "knowledge, falsely so called," may be opposed the ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles, has received from Christ, and that Holy Scripture may find the champions that are needed in so momentous a battle?

Let our first care, then, be to see that in seminaries and academical institutions, the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of professors. Teachers of Sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at haphazard out of a crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of and their long familiarity with the Bible, and by suitable learning and study.

It is a matter of equal importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well, wherever this can be done, to select young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course, and to set them apart exclusively for Holy Scripture, affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors thus chosen and thus prepared may enter with confidence upon the task that is appointed for them; and that they may carry out their work well and profitably, let them take heed to the instructions we now proceed to give.

At the commencement of a course of Holy Scripture, let the professor strive earnestly to form the judgment of the young beginners so as to train them equally to defend the sacred writings and to penetrate their meaning. This is the object of the treatise which is called "Introduction." Here the student is taught how to prove the integrity and

authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true sense, and how to meet and refute objections. It is needless to insist upon the importance of making these preliminary studies in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of Theology; for the whole subsequent course must rest upon the foundation thus laid, and make use of the light thus acquired. Next, the teacher will turn his earnest attention to that more fruitful division of Scripture science which has to do with Interpretation: wherein is imparted the method of using the Word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. We recognize without hesitation that neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single Book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching should result in a definite and ascertained method of interpretation—and therefore the professor should equally avoid the mistake of giving a mere taste of every Book, and of dwelling at too great length upon a part of one Book. If most schools cannot do what is done in the large institutions—that is, take the students through the whole of one or two Books continuously and with a certain development—yet at least, those parts which are selected should be treated with suitable fullness; in such a way that the students may learn from the sample that is thus put before them, to love and use the remainder of the Sacred Book during the whole of their lives. The professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent decreed that "in public lectures, disputations, preaching and exposition," the Vulgate is the "authentic" version; and this is the existing custom of the Church. At the same time the other versions which Christian antiquity has approved should not be neglected, more especially the ancient MSS. For although the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless wherever there may be ambiguity or want of clearness, the "examination of older tongues," to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. But in this matter we need hardly say that the greatest prudence is required, for the "office of commentator," as St. Jerome, "is to set forth not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says." The question of "readings" having been, when necessary, carefully discussed, the next thing is to investigate and expound the meaning. And the first counsel to be given is this: That the more our adversaries contend to the contrary, so much the more solicitously should we adhere to the received and approved canons of interpretation. Hence, whilst weighing the meanings of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages and the like, we should by all means make use of such illustrations as can be drawn by apposite erudition of an

external sort; but this should be done with caution, so as not to bestow on questions of this kind more labor and time than are spent on the Sacred Books themselves, and not to overload the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

Holy Scripture and Theology; Interpretation; The Fathers.

The professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of Theology. On this head it must be observed that in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are more or less peculiar to the Bible; for the language of the Bible is employed to express, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, many things which are beyond the power and scope of the reason of man—that is to say, divine mysteries and all that is related to them. There is sometimes in such passages a fullness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter hardly expresses and which the laws of interpretation hardly warrant. Moreover, the literal sense itself frequently admits other senses adapted to illustrate dogma or to confirm morality. Wherefore, it must be recognized that the sacred writings are wrapped in a religious obscurity, and that no one can enter into their interior without a guide; God so disposing, as the Holy Fathers commonly teach, in order that men may investigate them with greater ardor and earnestness, and that what is attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart; and most of all that they may understand that God has delivered the Holy Scriptures to the Church, and that in reading and making use of His Word, they must follow the Church as their guide and teacher. St. Irenaeus long since laid down that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth must be learned, and the Holy Scripture was safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession. His teaching, and that of other Holy Fathers, is taken up by the Council of the Vatican, which, in renewing the decree of Trent, declares its "mind" to be this—that "in things of faith and morals belonging to the building of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother, the Church, whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense, or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers." By this most wise decree the Church by no means prevents or restrains the pursuit of Biblical science, but rather protects it from error and largely assists its real progress. A wide field is still left open to the private student, in which his hermeneutical skill may display itself with signal effect and to the advantage of the Church. On the

His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons,
Archbishop of Baltimore, Md.

Most Rev. John Ireland,
Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn.

one hand, in those passages of Holy Scripture which have not as yet received a certain and definitive interpretation, such labors may in the benignant providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgment of the Church; on the other, in passages already defined, the private student may do work equally valuable, either by setting them forth more clearly to the flock and more skillfully to scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator should be to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation either from the sacred writers themselves, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, whether by her solemn judgments or her ordinary and universal *magisterium*—to interpret these passages in that identical sense and to prove, by all the resources of science, that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In the other passages, the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should be held as the supreme law; for seeing that the same God is the Author both of the Sacred Books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can by legitimate means be extracted from the former, which shall, in any respect, be at variance with the latter. Hence it follows that all interpretation is foolish and false which either makes the sacred writers disagree with one another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The professor of Holy Scripture, therefore, amongst other recommendations, must be well acquainted with the whole circle of Theology, and deeply read in the commentaries of the Holy Fathers and Doctors, and other interpreters of mark. This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who thus justly complains: "If there is no branch of teaching, however humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the Books of the divine mysteries by the help of those who have interpreted them?" The other Fathers have said the same, and have confirmed it by their example, for they "endeavored to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writings and authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles." The Holy Fathers, "to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth,—who have planted, watered, built, governed and cherished it,"—the Holy Fathers, we say, are of supreme authority, whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text in the Bible as pertaining to the doctrine

of faith or morals; for their unanimity clearly evinces that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight, when they treat of these matters in their capacity of Doctors, unofficially; not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things which are useful in understanding the apostolic Books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, on whom God has bestowed a more ample measure of His light. Wherefore the expositor should make it his duty to follow their footsteps with all reverence, and to use their labors with intelligent appreciation.

But he must not, on that account, consider that it is forbidden, when just cause exists, to push inquiry and exposition beyond what the Fathers have done; provided he carefully observes the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine,—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires; a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times, when the thirst for novelty and unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the whole Liturgy attests; although it is true that the Holy Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used it as a means of promoting virtue and piety, such as, by their own experience, they knew to be most valuable. The authority of other Catholic interpreters is not so great; but the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church, and therefore these commentaries also have their own honorable place, and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. But it is most unbecoming to pass by, in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the works of non-Catholics—and to seek in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labor. For although the studies of non-Catholics, used with prudence, may sometimes be of use to the Catholic student, he should, nevertheless, bear well in mind—as the Fathers also teach in numerous passages—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside of the Church, and cannot be expected to be found in

writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the Sacred Scripture, and never attain its pith.

Most desirable is it, and most essential, that the whole teaching of Theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. This is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It was chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with divine tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will any one wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use, Theology cannot be placed on its true footing or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma, by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless the judicious and instructed theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; "for (Theology) does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive from other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids." It is this view of doctrinal teaching which is laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquino, who, moreover, shows—such being the essential character of Christian theology—how she can defend her own principles against attack: "If the adversary," he says, "do but grant any portion of the divine revelation, we have an argument against him; thus against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article, we can use another. But if our opponent reject divine revelation entirely, there is then no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them." Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well-prepared and furnished; otherwise just hopes will be frustrated, or perchance what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error, falling an easy prey to the sophisms and labored erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to Philosophy and Theology, under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquino and a thorough training therein—as We Ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means, both in Biblical studies and

in that part of Theology which is called *positive,* they will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

The Authority of Holy Scripture; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.

To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic doctrine, by the legitimate and skillful interpretation of the Bible, is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the maintenance, in the strongest possible way, of its full authority. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily, except by means of the living and proper *magisterium* of the Church. The Church, "by reason of a wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own divine mission." But since the divine and infallible *magisterium* rests also upon the authority of Holy Scripture, the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred records, at least as human documents, from which can be clearly proved as from primitive and authentic testimony the divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of our hierarchical Church and the primacy of Peter and his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that there should be numerous members of the clergy well prepared to enter upon a contest of this nature, and to repulse hostile assaults, chiefly trusting in that armor of God recommended by the Apostle, but also not unaccustomed to modern methods of attack. This is beautifully alluded to by St. John Chrysostom, when describing the duty of priests: "We must use every endeavor that the 'Word of God may dwell in us abundantly,' and not merely for one kind of fight must we be prepared—for the contest is many-sided and the enemy is of every sort; and they do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore it is needful that the man who has to contend against all should be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all—that he should be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier, foot-soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless he knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to force in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep." The sophisms of the enemy and his manifold arts of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word of advice on the means of defense. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages and of the art of criticism. These two acquirements are in these days held in high estimation, and therefore the clergy, by making themselves more or less fully acquainted

with them as time and place may demand, will the better be able to discharge their office with becoming credit; for they must make themselves "all to all," always "ready to satisfy everyone that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them." Hence it is most proper that professors of Sacred Scripture and theologians should master those tongues in which the Sacred Books were originally written; and it would be well that Church students should also cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. And endeavors should be made to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of other subjects connected therewith, for the benefit principally of those who are intended to profess sacred literature. These latter, with a similar object in view, should make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the "higher criticism," which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity and authority of each book from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted "higher criticism" will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.

In the second place, we have to contend against those who, making an evil use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the Sacred Book, in order to detect the writers in a mistake, and to take occasion to vilify its contents. Attacks of this kind, bearing as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to the young who are beginning their literary studies; for the young, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether. It need not be

pointed out how the nature of science, just as it is so admirably adapted to show forth the glory of the Great Creator, provided it be taught as it should be, so if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, it may prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in the corruption of morality. Hence to the professor of Sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be a very great assistance in detecting such attacks on the Sacred Books and in refuting them. There can never indeed be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, "not to make rash assertions, or to assert what is not known as known." If dissension should arise between them, here is a rule, also laid down by St. Augustine, for the theologian: "Whatever they can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of reconciliation with our Scriptures, and whatever they assert in their treatises which is contrary to these Scriptures of ours, that is, to Catholic faith, we must either prove it as well as we can to be entirely false, or at all events we must, without the smallest hesitation, believe it to be so." To understand how just is the rule here formulated, we must remember first, that the sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost, "Who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation." Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared," or put down what God, speaking to men, signified in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.

The unshrinking defense of the Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which each of the Fathers or of the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence in their interpretations, we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith—what they are unanimous in. For "in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the Saints

were at liberty to hold divergent opinions, just as we ourselves are," according to the saying of St. Thomas. And in another place, he says most admirably: "When philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down such a point as a dogma of faith, even if it is perhaps so presented by the philosophers, nor to reject it as against faith, lest we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion of despising our faith." The Catholic interpreter, although he should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be not quite necessary are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, must nevertheless always bear in mind that much which has been held and proved as certain has afterward been called in question and rejected. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own branch, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, let them be handed over to philosophers for refutation.

Inspiration Incompatible with Error.

The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history. It is a lamentable fact that there are many who, with great labor, carry out and publish investigations on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of nations and other illustrative subjects, and whose chief purpose in all this is too often to find mistakes in the sacred writings and so to shake and weaken their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which

the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: "The Books of the Old and New Testaments, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent), and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church holds them as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterward approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author." Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as his instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments, who perchance have fallen into error, and not the primary author. For by supernatural power He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they first rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words, and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. "Therefore," says St. Augustine, "since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the writer, for His members executed what their Head dictated." And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces: "Most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the Author of the book. He wrote it Who dictated it for writing; He wrote it Who inspired its execution."

It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any passage of the sacred writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and Doctors agreed that the divine writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they labored earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in great measure have been taken up by the "higher criticism;" for they were unanimous in laying it down that those writings, in

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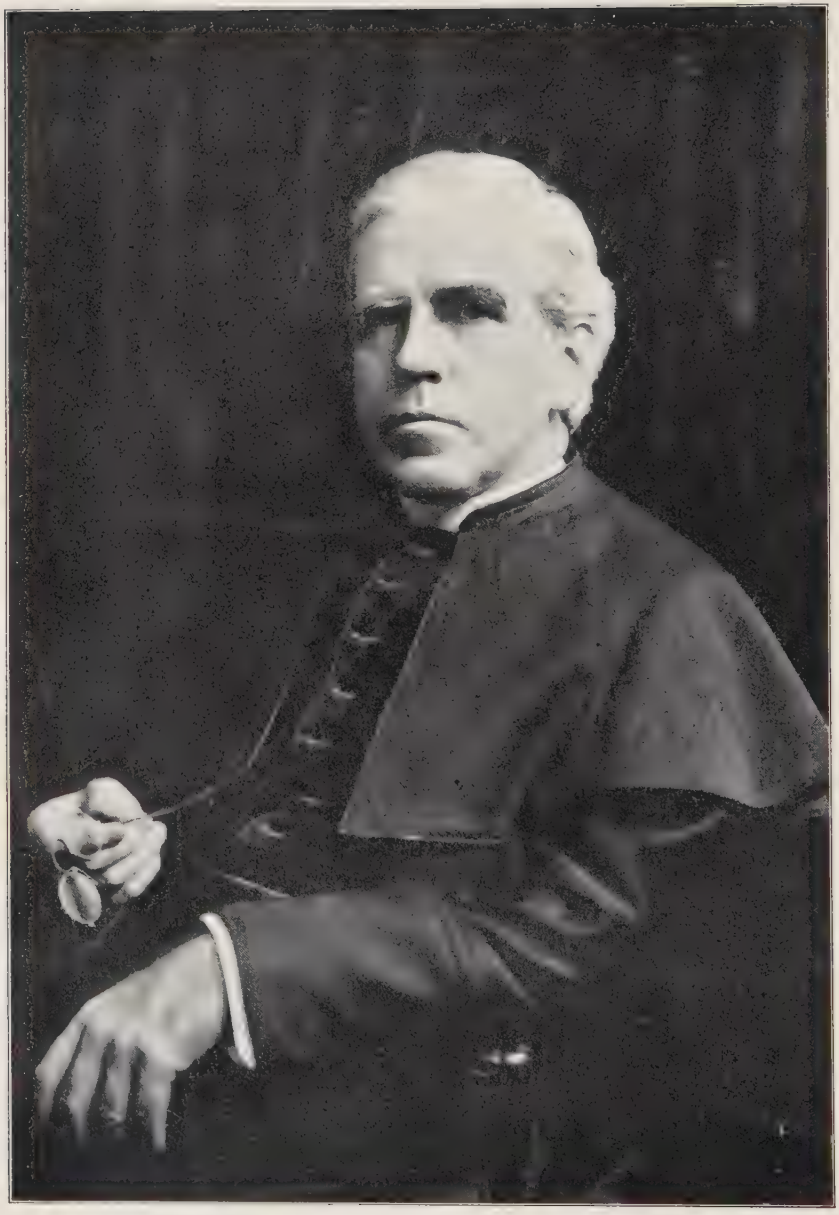

The Right Reverend Thomas J. Conaty, D. D.,
Rector of the Catholic University of America and Bishop of Samos.

their entirety and in all their parts, were equally from the *afflatus* of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the sacred writers, could not set down anything but what was true. The words of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught: "On my own part, I confess to your charity that it is only to those Books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honor and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if, in these Books, I meet anything which seems contrary to Truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand."

But to undertake fully and perfectly, and with all the weapons of the best science, the defense of the Holy Bible is far more than can be looked for from the exertions of commentators and theologians alone. It is an enterprise in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all those Catholics who have acquired reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children. May their services to the Faith grow and increase! For there is nothing which We believe to be more needful than that Truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything which is better calculated to impress the masses with respect for Truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare to insist so shamelessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show toward faith the most marked honor and respect. Seeing, then, that those can do so much for the advantage of religion, on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scripture is the object, select each of them a branch of study most suitable to his circumstances and endeavor to excel therein, and thus be prepared to repulse with credit and distinction the assaults upon the Word of God. And it is Our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work which certain Catholics have taken up—that is to say, the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out complete studies. Truly an excellent fashion of investing money and well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope of public patronage there is for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private

persons—those to whom God has given riches thus willingly making use of their means to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

Summary.

In order that all these endeavors and exertions may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which We have in this letter laid down. Let them loyally hold that God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures—and that, therefore, nothing can be proved, either by physical science or archeology, which can really contradict the Scripture. If, then, apparent contradiction be met with, every effort should be made to remove it. Judicious theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion and the hostile arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is, after all, not cleared up, and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made, either in the interpretation of the sacred words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgment for the time being. There have been objections without number, perseveringly directed against the Scripture for many a long year, which have proved to be futile, and are never heard of; and not unfrequently interpretations have been placed upon certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals) which have been rectified by more careful investigations. As time goes on, mistaken views die and disappear; but "truth remaineth and groweth stronger forever and ever." Wherefore, as no one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of the Scripture in which St. Augustine himself confessed that there was more that he did not know than that he knew, so, if he should come upon anything that seems incapable of solution, he must take to heart the cautious rule of the same holy Doctor: "It is better even to be oppressed by unknown useful signs, than to interpret them uselessly, and thus to throw off the yoke only to be caught in the trap of error."

As to those who pursue the subsidiary studies of which We have spoken, if they honestly and modestly follow the counsels We have given—if by their pen and their voice they make their studies profitable against the enemies of truth, and useful in saving the young from the loss of their faith, they may justly congratulate themselves on their worthy service of the Sacred Writings, and on affording to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

Such, Venerable Brethren, are the admonitions and the instructions which, by the help of God, We have thought it well, at the present moment, to offer to you on the study of Holy Scripture. It will now be your province to see that what we have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness; that so, we may prove our gratitude to God for the communication to man of the words of His wisdom, and that all good results, so much to be desired, may be realized, especially as they affect the training of the students of the Church, which is Our own great solicitude and the Church's hope. Exert yourselves with willing alacrity, and use your authority and your persuasion, in order that these studies may be held in just regard and may flourish, in seminaries and in the educational institutions which are under your jurisdiction. Let them flourish in completeness and in happy success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Holy Fathers, and the laudable traditions of antiquity; and as time goes on, let them be widened and extended as the interests and glory of truth may require—the interest of that Catholic truth which comes from above, the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, We admonish with paternal love all students and ministers of the Church always to approach the Sacred Writings with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain the profitable understanding thereof unless the arrogance of "earthly" science be laid aside, and there be excited within the heart the holy desire for that wisdom "which is from above." In this way, the intelligence which is once admitted to these sacred studies and thereby illuminated and strengthened will acquire a marvelous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using, for eternal salvation, all that is valuable and precious; whilst, at the same time, the heart will grow warm and will strive with ardent longing to advance in virtue and in divine love. "Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek after Him with their whole heart."

And now, filled with hope in the divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace and a sign of Our special good-will—to you all, and to the clergy and the whole flock entrusted to you, We lovingly impart in Our Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the sixteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Encyclical to the French, 1892—The Interview of the *Petit Journal*—Letter of the Pope to the French Cardinals—His Letter to the Bishop of Grenoble—The Bearing of These Various Documents.

THE Encyclical of Leo XIII to the French is one of the events of the century. It carries us back to those epochs in the evolution of the world when the Supreme Pontiff was wont to change the face of nations with a stroke of his pen. The Popes had for so long a time held themselves aloof from the political interests of Europe, that the doctrine of their indirect influence in temporal affairs seemed rather a subject of study in the theological schools than a principle susceptible of practical application in our days of indifference. And, lo! Leo XIII introduces this doctrine into the world of facts in such a way that the heterodox themselves are forced to take account of it and to recognize its wisdom. A singular stroke of Providence, which is active in the world and arrives at the object of its design in the most unforeseen fashion!

To venture, at the present time, to determine the bearing of the Encyclical to the French and to measure its consequences would be a premature undertaking. Does it definitively signify that the Church is to march at the head of the Democracy? Is the Church going to resign the Kings to their fate and extend her arms to the popular government, as formerly she abandoned the Roman Empire to its fate in order pacifically to meet the barbarians, subdue their ferocity and civilize them by converting them? . . . Or, indeed, will the proceeding of Leo XIII toward France prove to be nothing more than an episode in the history of the nation, an episode of sovereign importance, to be sure, but one which will have no other effect than to enable the Elder Daughter of the Church to recover herself and to resume the course of her former destinies, not only in the religious sphere, but also in the sphere of politics? . . . These are grave questions which the future will solve and which only temerity could venture to decide to-day. One thing, however, is beyond doubt, namely, that in this circumstance, the voice of Leo XIII has, according to the expression of the Scriptures, caused the ears of those who heard it to tingle: *Quod qui audierit tinnient ambae aures ejus!*

It is possible, we may say, that the intervention of Leo XIII may have the final consequence of setting France back upon her historic path, even from the point of view of the form of government. This seems a paradox. How is an Encyclical which recommends the acceptance of the Republic finally to restore France to the Monarchy? However uncertain, however improbable it may appear, the possibility of this consequence will, we think, be established by a study of the thought of Leo XIII in the documents in which that thought has been made manifest, and by an examination of the conditions amid which France finds herself.

The Encyclical of February 16, 1892, begins with an affirmation of Leo XIII's affection for France. "It is," he says, "precisely this affection which has held Us ceaselessly attentive to, and which has led Us to review, the ensemble of events, now sad, now consoling, which for several years have been unfolded among you." The Pope affirms that a plot has been formed for the destruction of Christianity in France, and that this plot is being executed, without regard to the sentiment of the majority of the nation, to justice, the rights of the Church and even the "political interests wisely understood."

In all sincerity, is this the language of fear and capitulation? . . . Is not a Pope who speaks thus in the face of a power manifestly involved in a conspiracy against religion, to be believed, when, immediately afterwards, he recommends the acceptance of the form of government which that very power uses in order to persecute the Church? Certainly he is to be believed, not only because every Catholic should bow before the Pope speaking in the name of religious interests, but rather because, as a man, Leo XIII is not to be suspected of complacency toward those who are taking an active part in the conspiracy which he denounces.

The Pontiff, greatly consoled by the evidences of affection and deference which the French have manifested towards him, protests that "far from discouraging them he has always strongly exhorted them to redouble their efforts in the defense of faith and country: two duties of the first order which no man in this life dare neglect." And if today he lifts his voice, it is "more urgently to invite not only Catholics, but all upright and intelligent Frenchmen, to put far from them every germ of political dissent, in order that they may consecrate their strength to the unique end of the pacification of their country," a pacification desired by all and for which the Pope entreats "all right souls, all generous hearts," to labor with him. Be it noted here, that the Pope does not address himself to Catholics alone, but to all upright and intelligent Frenchmen. This point is of extreme importance to

one who would grasp the bearing of the Encyclical. The pacification of which Leo XIII speaks is not, moreover, the pacification which is spoken of with emphasis by certain political orators, who would combine it with the maintenance of laws hostile to the Church.

Leo XIII accepts religion as the primary basis of peace and social stability. "Before all things," he says, "let us take as a starting point a well-known truth, a truth admitted by all men of sound sense and distinctly proclaimed by the history of all peoples, namely, that religion, and religion alone, can create a social tie; that it alone is capable of maintaining the peace of a nation upon solid foundations." Indeed, the life of man in society should tend to his perfecting, not only physical but moral, for without this society would be rather an evil than a good. This moral perfection necessarily presupposes God, and with God religion which invites man to God. Thence "all citizens are bound to ally themselves to maintain the true sentiment of religion in a nation and to defend it at need, if ever an atheistic school, in spite of the protests of nature and history, should exert its might to drive God out of society, certain in this wise to destroy the moral sense which lies at the very foundation of the human conscience. Upon this point no disagreement is possible among men who have not lost all notion of honesty."

If simple, natural reason reveals this truth, by how much more will it be evident to Catholics, especially when it is a question of the true religion, "which, more than any other, possesses the desired efficacy to regulate life well both for society and the individual." The history of France stands to prove this, for all of her former glories are in a great measure due to religion; and even now, it is religion which gives to France that charity so greatly admired by all and which carries afar "at once the renown of France and the benefits of the Catholic faith. No Frenchman, whatever his conviction in other matters, would dare to renounce such glories; for to renounce them would be to renounce his country. Now, the history of a people in an incontestable manner reveals what is the generative and conservative element in its moral grandeur, 'an element which neither gold nor power can replace and which is alone able to save a country from decadence.' Who does not now comprehend that, for all Frenchmen who profess the Catholic religion, the subject of supreme solicitude should be the assurance of its conservation; and this with the more devotion, because among them Christianity is the object of the most implacable hostility of the sects? Upon this field they dare not permit themselves either indolence in action, or party division; the one would make them subject to the accusation of cowardice unworthy of a Christian, the other would be the cause of a disastrous weakness."

After having established this fundamental point, Leo XIII refutes the calumny which attributes to the Pope "the ambition to procure for the Church a *political domination over the State.*" This calumny is not new. Christ Himself was accused of preaching disobedience to Cæsar; and, throughout the course of centuries, the enemies of religion have not ceased to allege "before the people, the pretext of the hypothetical invasion of the Church into the realm of the State, to furnish them with an appearance of right in their acts of impiety and violence against the Catholic religion." The struggle thus remains ever the same. They resort, even to-day, to the same devices "substantially very old and hardly changed in form" to attack the Church; it is therefore necessary, in defense, to recur to the means clearly indicated to the Christians of the present day by our own apologists, our doctors, our martyrs. What they have done, it is incumbent upon us to do in our turn. Let us therefore hold the glory of God and His Church above all things; let us labor for her with a constant and affectionate zeal, and let us leave the care for our success to JESUS CHRIST."

To attain the desired end, "a great union is requisite." We need to cast aside everything of a nature to disturb this union; and the Pope points out precisely what he has in mind. "We allude to the political divergencies among Frenchmen with regard to the course to be pursued toward the existing Republic."

Among the different forms of government which have succeeded one another in France, it is possible abstractly to determine which is the best. We may also affirm that every form of government is excellent provided that it conduces to the common good. Finally this or that form may be preferable for this or that country. "In this order of speculative ideas, Catholics, like other citizens, are at full liberty to prefer one form of government to another, precisely in virtue of the fact that no one of these forms is opposed, in itself, to the terms of common sense or the maxims of Christian doctrine." This consideration suffices to justify the practice of the Church, which, in treating with governments, ignores their form, in order not to concern itself with anything but the religious interests which it has to protect.

In accepting facts, principles do not change, but "they take on a character of contingency, determined by the milieu in which they are applied." The particular form assumed by the political power in each nation "arises from the ensemble of historic or natural, but always human, conditions, which give birth to its traditional and even fundamental laws; and by these laws the particular form of government, the basis for the transmission of the supreme power, is determined. It is needless to recall the fact that all individuals are bound to accept these

governments, and to refrain from all attempt to overthrow or change their form." Thus the Church commands that respect be accorded to the legitimate powers and reproves rebellions.

"However, we need carefully to observe here, whatever be the form of the civil power of a nation, it is not to be considered as so definitive as necessarily to be immutable, even though such may have been the intention of those who originally determined it." The Church alone has the privilege of immutability in her constitution; as for purely human societies, history shows that "time, the great transformer of all things here below, works profound changes in their political institutions."

These changes may partially or totally modify the form of government. They frequently follow violent crises succeeded by anarchy and the total overthrow of order. "Thence a social necessity is imposed upon the nation; she needs without delay look to herself. . . . Now, this social necessity justifies the creation and the existence of new governments, whatever form they may take; since according to the hypothesis upon which we are arguing, these governments are necessarily required by the public order, public order being impossible without government. Thence it follows that in similar conjunctures all novelty is limited to the political form of the civil powers or to their mode of transmission, and that such novelty in no wise affects the power considered as such. In other words, according to any hypothesis whatever, the civil power considered as such is derived from God and always from God: For there is no power but of God." New governments being thus constituted, it is permitted and even required by the necessity of social well-being to accept them. "And this high duty of respect and dependence will continue as long as the exigencies of the common welfare demand, since that welfare is, after God, the first and final law in society."

"Thus the wisdom of the Church in the maintenance of its relations with the numerous governments which have succeeded one another in France in less than a century, and never without creating violent and profound agitation, becomes self-explanatory. This attitude is the safest and most salutary line of conduct for all Frenchmen in their civil relations with the Republic, which is the actual government of their nation. Let them be the political dissent which divides them; all their efforts should be directed to conserving or uplifting the moral grandeur of their country.

Leo XIII then refutes the objection based upon the anti-Christian character of the actual Republic. This objection he combats by means of the now celebrated distinction between the constituted powers and

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legislation, a distinction as clear as irrefutable. Under an excellent régime, says Leo XIII, legislation may be either detestable or otherwise. No one is better aware of this fact than the Church, which has suffered from and has had occasion to praise all forms of government. The reason for the distinction expounded above is manifest. Legislation is the work not of a power *in abstracto,* but of the men who are momentarily clothed with power. " Whence it results that in practice the quality of the laws depends more upon the quality of the legislators than upon the form of the government. These laws will therefore be good or bad, according as the legislators are imbued with the spirit of good or bad principles and are guided by political prudence or by passion."

The Pope goes on to acknowledge that there are in France laws contrary to religion against which he himself has had to protest. " Poor France," cries the Pope, " God alone can measure the depths of evil into which she will plunge if this legislation, instead of ameliorating, persists in a deviation such as will end in snatching from the minds and hearts of the French the religion which has made them so great. And it is precisely upon this ground that, all political dissent placed apart, excellent men must unite as one man, to combat by all legal and righteous means these progressive abuses of legislation. The respect owing to the constituted powers cannot prevent this: it can impose neither respect, nor far less limit this obedience to every legislative measure whatsoever, published by these same powers."

Leo XIII enters upon the question of the Concordat. He affirms that, among the enemies of the Church, " the more violent would have it entirely abolished, in order to leave to the State complete liberty to molest the Church of Jesus Christ, while the more shrewd demand its preservation to enable the State to benefit from the concessions which have been made to it by the Church without having to fulfill on its side its engagements with respect to the Church. In view of this situation, the Pope entreats Catholics not to provoke schism upon a subject with which it appertains to the Holy See to occupy itself."

At the same time he protests against the theory of the separation of the Church and State. " To desire the State to separate from the Church would be to desire, by a logical consequence, that the Church should be reduced to the liberty of living according to the right common to all citizens. This situation, it is true, is found in some countries. It is a manner of existing which, if it has its numerous and grave inconveniences, also offers some advantages, especially when the legislator, by a happy inconsistency, does not cease to be inspired by Christian principles; and these advantages, although they cannot justify the false principle of separation, nor give authority to defend it, nevertheless render

tolerable a state of affairs which practically is not the worst in the world." In the Catholic country of France, the Church cannot accept this precarious situation. Moreover, what her enemies desire in this separation "is the entire independence of political legislation over religious legislation; further, the absolute indifference of the central power to the interests of Christian society, that is, of the Church, and the very negation of its existence. They nevertheless make one reservation which is formulated thus: as soon as the Church utilizes the resources which the common law leaves to the least of the French, and thus succeeds, by a redoubling of her native activity, in furthering her work, then the State by intervening can and ought to place French Catholics beyond the pale of the common law itself. To put the whole matter into a word,—the ideal of these men would be a return to paganism: the State according to them should not recognize the Church except when it is pleased to persecute her."

Leo XIII concludes his Encyclical by expressing the hope that the elucidation of the points which he has treated "will dissipate the prejudices of many men of good faith, facilitate the pacification of minds, and thereby perfect the union of all Catholics, to sustain the great cause of Christ, who loves the French."

The Encyclical to the French was for some as a thunderbolt from the clouds; for others, a ray of sunshine, illuminating the affairs of France,—the dawn of a better time. To all, it was the subject of vivid impressions and presently of profound reflections. Before discussing in detail the immediate effect of the Encyclical upon Catholics and non-Catholics it is fitting to group about it certain acts of the Holy Father, which help to fix the meaning of the Pontifical letter. The first of these acts, if this name may be given to a conversation, destined, it is true, to be published, was the audience accorded to the editor of the *Petit Journal*. Anterior in date to the Encyclical, this interview appeared at about the same time and serves as a commentary upon it. The fact of this interview is not less remarkable in itself than the things that were said. That a Pope should agree thus to enter into communication with a journal which hardly passes for Catholic, but which possesses an enormous circulation, is evidence that it seemed good to him to give his ideas upon French politics the greatest possible publicity. "Those who veil their faces in the presence of this interview of the Pope," says M. Melchior de Vogüé, "should first ask themselves how a Hildebrand, an Innocent III, a Sixtus V would act to-day. Like their successor, who is destined to be their equal, they would take up the arms of the times, they would descend into the public square to defend their cause, to win souls, to serve humanity. By permitting the publication of that

conversation, Leo XIII sincerely thought that he was laboring for the pacification of our country."

The editor of the *Petit Journal* introduced himself to the Pope as the representative of the most widely read journal in the entire world, the true exponent of the immense majority of the French people, "free from all confessional attachment," but the organ of all independent and reasonable citizens. After this address, intended to accredit him to the Holy See, the envoy of the *Petit Journal* explained his mission. "He would be happy to know if the continued and consistent action of the Holy See to calm our constitutional quarrels has any relation to the views of the Holy See upon the foreign rôle of our country,—if it is intended to concur to the end which is that of all patriots, the uplifting of our forces in peace."

Here is the reply of the Holy Father, the absolute authenticity of which both in form and substance the journalist guarantees:

"My desire, like that of the Church, is that France may be happy; she is a nation whose spirit is intense and whose character is generous; if at times she does not follow the straight way and the way in most perfect conformity with her interests, she quickly repairs her errors when once she sees the truth.

"I express the wish,—and I am acting advisedly in spite of resistance,—that division may cease and that there may no longer arise among you sterile quarrels to enfeeble you.

"I am of the opinion that all citizens should unite upon legal grounds: each one harbors his particular preferences; but in the domain of action, there is no other government than that which France has elected.

"I have just received the President of the Committee of Organization of the Chicago Exposition, who requested the support and participation of the Holy See in that great American work.

"The United States, which is a republic, in spite of the inconveniences concomitant with boundless liberty, is daily growing, and the Catholic Church is developing there without having to engage in struggles against the State. These two powers harmonize very well, as they should harmonize everywhere, on the condition that the one does not transgress the rights of the other. There, liberty is indeed the foundation of the relations which subsist between the civil power and the religious conscience.

"Before all else, the Church demands liberty; My authoritative appeal should be hearkened to, in order that its object and intention be not distorted by ill-founded criticism.

"The heed which is fittingly given to it in the United States should with better reason be paid it in republican France.

"To all Frenchmen who visit Me I use the same language without distinction; I desire that it be known to all. I only regret that, up to the present, those in high places have not ventured publicly to recognize, as they should, the efforts which I have put forth in behalf of the peace and prosperity of your noble nation, which I always consider as the Eldest Daughter of the Church.

"I shall persist in this course, and I shall encourage all who firmly enter upon it.

"It is to facilitate this task that the Church needs to attach herself to her true mission, which is to moralize souls, to teach the spirit of sacrifice and devotion. At the same time, she will interest herself in the condition of the weak: the affirmation which I have made concerning the rights of workingmen should concur to render internal reconciliation more easy and prompt, to reduce to an insignificant minority those who have nothing better to do than to disturb minds and to prevent the union of the country, a union without which France will be incapable of fulfilling her high destinies.

"It is by this solid internal constitution that France, in spite of her enemies, will fully recover herself.

"I am glad to learn that France resolutely desires peace, notwithstanding the abundance of her military resources and the valor of her children.

"If without faltering she maintains this wisdom and this patience, if she contrives to escape from the division which arrests her development and paralyzes her influence, if she determines to abstain from bickering and persecution, she will soon regain the important rank and the glorious place which belongs to her in the world."

Whatever may have been the reverberation among the French produced by this oral commentary upon the Encyclical which popularized the thought of the Pope in places and among classes of people where the Pontifical letters do not ordinarily reach, Leo XIII, in his predilection for restless France, considered it his duty officially to revert to the same subject and to flood it with light. Doubtless the Encyclical was clear in itself, but the spirit of party, the illusions natural to those who would conciliate their political preferences with the words of the Pope, had gathered clouds about that luminous document. It was in order to dissipate these obscurities that the Pope wrote his letter to the French Cardinals. Addressed to the princes of the Church, it contemplated the entire nation, as was manifest by the fact that the French language was used by the Holy Father in this document as well as in the Encyclical, contrary to all the practices of the Roman Court.

An address of the French episcopate had borne to the Pope an expression of the adhesion of the Church of France to the doctrines of the Encyclical. Leo XIII took the opportunity thus offered to complete his instruction. "The Encyclical," he says, "has already done much good and will do much more." But he does not ignore the attacks which have been directed against it: "We had foreseen these attacks. Wherever the agitation of political parties profoundly disturbs the minds of men, as is now the case in France, it is difficult for all immediately to render to the truth that full justice which is, however, its due. But ought We for that reason to remain silent? What! France suffers and can We be supposed not to have felt in the depth of Our soul the sorrows of this Eldest Daughter of the Church?" The Holy Father saw that the division was paralyzing the efforts of good men; accordingly, he says, "Let there be no more parties among you; on the contrary, let there be complete union, in order that you may support in concert that which takes precedence over every earthly advantage, Religion, the cause of Jesus Christ. Upon this point, as upon every other, first seek the Kingdom of God and His justice, and the rest shall be added unto you."

"This parent idea which dominates Our entire Encyclical has not escaped the enemies of the Catholic religion. We may say that they have been the most clairvoyant in grasping its sense and in measuring its practical bearing." Thence the redoubling of fury among the men of the party hostile to the Church, a fury which has been translated into deplorable action at which "a number of men, little suspected of partiality for the Church, have shown themselves indignant."

In view of such state of affairs, the silence of the Pope would have been culpable before God and man. "It would have seemed that We contemplated the sufferings of Our sons, the French Catholics, with an impassive eye. It would have been insinuated that We judged the religious, moral, and civil ruin heaped up by the tyranny of the anti-Christian sects worthy of approbation or at the least of tolerance. We should have been reproached with having left these courageous Frenchmen deprived of direction and support in their present tribulations, when they have more than ever need to be fortified." The clergy especially have a right to this direction and support. Moreover, the Pope needs to affirm his divine right to teach "in the presence of those who, under the pretext of a distinction between religion and politics, pretend to circumscribe the universality of this right." He hopes "that the truth will finally make its way even into the hearts which resist it, possibly with a remnant of good faith in them."

Once more as in the Encyclical he makes an appeal, not to Catholics alone, but "to all men of sense and righteousness, in order that all may hasten to check France upon the downward road which leads to destruction." "But," he continues, "We have uniformly explained, and We continue to repeat, lest anyone misinterpret Our teaching: One of the means to bring about the union necessary to the welfare of Religion and of France is to accept, without afterthought, with the perfect loyalty which befits a Christian, the civil power in the form in which in fact it exists. Thus the first Empire was accepted in France, on the morrow of a terrible and bloody anarchy; thus were accepted the other forms of power, either monarchical or republican, which have followed one another unto Our day."

Leo XIII recalls what he has said in his Encyclical regarding the reason for this acceptance: the supreme exigency of the common good. "When, therefore, a constituted power exists and is in operation in a society, the common interest is bound up with that power, and for that reason it should be accepted as it is. It is with this motive and in this sense that We have said to French Catholics: Accept the Republic, that is to say, the constituted and existing power among you, respect it, submit to it as representing the power derived from God." Certain sincerely Catholic politicians failed to comprehend these very lucid words. Leo XIII explains them anew by the consideration of the contingency of the forms of power and its modes of transmission. Power in itself is always derived from God, but it is not always so with the various forms of power or the modes of its transmission. Further, all human institutions are by nature perishable. Politics ceaselessly furnish examples of unexpected changes.

"These changes are far from always being legitimate in their origin; it is even difficult that they should be so. Nevertheless, the supreme criterion of the common good and of the public tranquillity imposes the acceptance of the new government established *de facto* in place of the anterior government which in fact no longer exists. Thus the ordinary rules for the transmission of power are *suspended*, and it may come about in time that they will be altogether abolished."

The letter then insists upon the distinction between the constituted powers and legislation, and declares that no one can take it ill that Catholics exert their entire activity and influence "to bring the government to alter for the better laws which are iniquitous or destitute of wisdom."

"Upon religious grounds, thus understood, the various conservative political parties can and should be in agreement. But the men who would subordinate everything to the triumph of their respective parties

even under the pretext that they seem to them most apt for the defense of religion, would thence, by a strange reversal of ideas, be bent upon having politics which divide take precedence over religion, which unifies. And it will be their fault if our enemies, exploiting their divisions, as they have already only too frequently done, should finally succeed in crushing them all."

Leo XIII finally undertakes to show that he has been wrongly accused of maintaining in France an attitude contrary to that which he maintains in Italy. On both sides of the Alps he speaks only in the name of religious interests. The question of the independence of the Holy See in Italy "is also eminently religious in so much as it is connected with the fundamental principle of the liberty of the Church."

After a document so explicit as this, it would seem that no room was left for equivocation. But equivocation is the last refuge and the almost impregnable citadel of those who would harmonize their personal notions with their Catholic sentiments. This was seen under Pius IX after the more and more explicit condemnation of all shades of Liberalism. It is seen under Leo XIII in the present question. The Pope needed to speak once more. This he did upon the occasion of the Catholic Congress of French Youth held at Grenoble under the presidency of the Bishop of the diocese. Replying to Mgr. Fava, who had reported to him the wishes expressed and the resolutions passed by the Congress, the Pope praises the submission of the members of the Congress to the teachings of the Holy See. "These men," he said, "have thus set a public and salutary example which will have its due effect. But there are others, We regret to say, who, while protesting their Catholicism, think themselves right in being refractory to the direction indicated by the Head of the Church, under the pretext that it is a question of political direction. Well then, before these erroneous pretensions, We maintain in all their integrity each of the acts which have hitherto emanated from Us, and We declare further: "No, We do not seek to enter politics, but when politics are closely bound up with religious interests, as is actually the case in France, if anyone has the mission to determine a course which will effectually safeguard the interests of religion, in which consists the supreme end of all things, that one is the Roman Pontiff."

In this the Pope asserts that he in no way departs from the doctrines and the examples of his predecessors. He rejoices at the important part taken by the youth in the congress at Grenoble. "God," he continues, "will certainly bless the efforts of these young persons who are not less intelligent than devoted, and who have taken for their unique rallying cry (word of command) the conservation of the Christian faith.

"There was a time when the Christian Orient asked the Occident for reinforcements of arms to check the devastating invasions of the infidels, and no one is ignorant of the heroism with which France took part in the movement. As times change, other means need to be resorted to. It is no longer a question of French Catholics hurling back the torrent of infidels. It is a question of safeguarding and developing the faith in their own country, which is menaced with total dechristianization. They can no longer fight with the material arms used in the Crusades; but they are at liberty and are in duty bound to have recourse to spiritual arms." In this struggle everyone needs to take part, if not with heroism, at least with good-will, and an activity proportioned to his power, in order that he may become "a worthy instrument of Divine Mercy in the healing of minds blinded by ignorance or by passion."

Leo XIII expresses hopes that Catholic assemblies and associations may multiply in France! "In this way We may hope that the Christian spirit will be maintained alive, active, communicative, and that it will carry the light of faith to the depth of those souls who have either lost it or in whom it is vacillating or inert." This weakening of faith is the outcome of the increasing forgetfulness of Christian truths. "Everywhere and at all times ignorance has been the arch-enemy of the Church and of JESUS CHRIST; it is so to-day in France. Either they are totally ignorant of, or they do not understand in their true light, the sublime mysteries of the Christian religion, the incomparable benefits lavished upon humanity by the Redeemer of the world, the salutary rôle of the Divine society called the Church, the infallible mistress of truth, sanctifier of souls, and, hence, prime source of perfection for the individual as well as for the race. This ignorance, exploited by calumny, invades the masses of the people, who fall into the sleep of indifference, and leave the field open to all the enemies of the Church, raging to banish her from the slightest participation in the social life of humanity."

Finally the Holy Father repeats and emphasizes what he previously said regarding the unity of action to be demanded in the work of regenerating France, even of those who have not faith. In this, Leo XIII shows himself singularly perspicacious. These words of the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST are worthy of meditation: "An important observation shall conclude what We were desirous of saying: it is true that the progress of the religious life among a people is an eminently social work, in view of the close connection between the truths which are the soul of the religious life and those which dominate the civil life; thence results a practical rule which should not be lost sight of, and which gives to Catholics an altogether characteristic breadth of mind. We

would say that while standing firm in the affirmation of the dogmas, and pure of all compromise with error, it is the part of Christian prudence not to repel, or rather let Us say, to know how to conciliate, in the pursuit of the good, either individual or, and especially, social, the co-operation of all righteous men. The great majority in France is Catholic. But even among those who have not this good fortune, many retain, in spite of everything, a store of good sense, a certain rectitude, which we may call the sentiment of a naturally Christian soul; now this elevated sentiment gives them, with the inclination to good, the aptitude to realize it, and more than once these intimate dispositions, this generous co-operation, have served them as a preparation for the appreciation and profession of Christian truth. Wherefore We have not failed, in Our recent acts, to ask the co-operation of these men, in the effort to triumph over sectarian persecution, hereafter unmasked and unbridled, which has invited the religious and moral ruin of France. When all men, rising above party, shall unite their efforts to this end, upright men, with their common sense and their righteous hearts, believers, with their wisdom, young people, with their spirit of initiative, families of high rank, with their holy examples; then the people will finally understand on which side their true friends are, and upon what enduring foundations the happiness for which they thirst must rest; *then they will move toward the good, and as soon as they shall place their powerful will in the balance of things, we shall see society, transformed, hold it an honor to bow before God, to contribute to so beautiful and patriotic a result.*"

We have italicized the conclusion of the period in order to draw the special attention of the reader to the idea which furnished the key to the attitude of Leo XIII toward the French.

It is not our intention in this place to comment upon these very clear acts of the Sovereign Pontiff. Some reflection, however, may be useful to lend precision to their sense and to determine their bearing.

Leo XIII prescribes the acceptance of the republican form in the name of the general doctrine taught by the Church that all power whatsoever comes from God; this he prescribes more especially in the name of the interests of Religion under actual circumstances, an interest with which that of France is closely united even from a temporal point of view.

As for the first point, the Pope is the echo of the entire Catholic tradition, the echo of Jesus Christ Himself, who in saying: "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's" made no appeal to the special nature of the power of Cæsar, nor more or less to the legitimacy of that power.

One of the most recent manifestations of this doctrine of the Church

is the brief of Pius VI, recommending to the Catholics of France the acceptance of the Directory. The document so greatly resembles the acts of Leo XIII, even in its language, and relates to a situation so similar to that of the France of to-day, that we cannot refrain from quoting it in its entirety.

To All Faithful Catholics Resident in France, Who are in Communion with the Holy Apostolic See, Pius VI:

Health and Benediction!

The pastoral solicitude, Beloved Sons, the charge of which Our Lord JESUS CHRIST, in the abundance of His mercy, has placed in Our feeble hands, makes it Our duty to seek to illumine all the faithful, and particularly those who are exposed to the greatest temptations, in order to prevent them from being led astray by the false lights of worldly wisdom, for He has said unto Us as unto the prophet Isaias, *Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression.*

It is for this reason that We should deem Ourselves lacking if We did not swiftly seize every occasion to exhort you to peace and to make you feel the necessity of submitting to the constituted authorities. In truth it is an accepted dogma of the Catholic religion that the establishment of governments is the work of Divine wisdom to prevent anarchy and confusion and to save the people from being buffeted hither and thither like the waves of the sea. Moreover, St. Paul, in speaking, not of any prince in particular, but of the power in itself, affirms that there is no power which does not come from God, and that to resist such power is to resist the decrees of God Himself. Wherefore, Beloved Sons, be not led astray; do not, as the result of a misconceived piety, furnish the innovators with an occasion to decry the Catholic religion. Your disobedience will be a crime subject to severe punishment, not only by the powers of the earth, but, what is worse, by God Himself, who threatens eternal damnation to those who resist His will. Wherefore, Beloved Sons, We exhort you, in the name of Our Lord JESUS CHRIST, to put yourselves with all your hearts and with all your strength to prove your submission to those who have command over you.

Thereby you will render unto God the homage of obedience which is His due, and you will prove to your governors that true religion is in no wise made to overthrow civil laws. Your conduct will convince them day by day and more and more of this truth, which will lead them to cherish and protect your cult, by causing to be observed the precepts of the Gospel and the rules of ecclesiastical discipline. Finally, We

warn you not to put your faith in anyone who may advance another doctrine than this, as the true doctrine of the Holy Apostolic See. And We bestow upon you with true paternal tenderness Our Apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Majore, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 5th of July, in the year 1796, and the twenty-second of Our Pontificate.

(Signed) R. Card. Braschius de Honestis.

It is then in accordance with the example of his predecessors that Leo XIII prescribes the acceptance of the Republic, simply because it is the existing and constituted power, without any prejudice relative to its intrinsic legitimacy.

The acceptance of the actual government, he says, in his letter to the Cardinals, *suspends* "the rules for the transmission of power, and it may come about in due time that these rules will be abolished."

However this may be, Catholics are free to judge that the republican government, as it actually exists, is in itself illegitimate, and that the rules for the transmission of power have been *suspended*. The Pope even formally recognizes the right to judge that the monarchy is the form of government best adapted to France.

There is no doubt that in virtue of these principles the monarchists would likewise have the right legally to provoke a change of government, either by the revision of the constitution or by some other means. Furthermore, supposing that the claims of such and such a pretender to the monarchy had not been abandoned, Catholic theologians would have no difficulty in recognizing his right to establish the validity of his claims even by force, nor would they hesitate to recognize the right of his partisans to assist him. Upon one condition, however: namely, that there should be a well-founded hope that the attempt would not result to the detriment of the real welfare of the country. According to this doctrine, individuals are obliged to recognize even an illegitimate government, up to the moment when the legitimate repository of sovereignty establishes the validity of his claim to the possession of such sovereignty *in the interest of public welfare*, a thing which cannot take place unless there exists a moral certitude that the evils of civil war will be compensated, indeed, more than compensated, by the success of the pretender,—a difficult condition to realize.

There is no innovation in these acts of Leo XIII so far as these speculative questions are concerned, but the Pope decides the practical question and declares that all political action for the re-establishment of the monarchy would injure the greatest of all interests: that of the existence of the Catholic faith in France, an interest closely interwoven

with the temporal welfare of that country. Permission is therefore not granted to Catholics actually to labor for the re-establishment of the monarchy. Are they forbidden to hope for its re-establishment? Not at all. Are they even forbidden to judge that in the last analysis the Pontifical policy will be favorable to the monarchy? Again, not at all, and for the subsequent reason.

Arguing *ad hominem*, with the monarchists, we may say to them: "You assert that the Republic of France is essentially hostile to Catholicism. Let this be granted for the moment. It is not less true that the re-establishment of the monarchy is impossible under the present state of affairs. This re-establishment is not possible by election: the constantly renewed defeats of the monarchists abundantly prove this. Furthermore, it is not possible by force, of which no one any longer dreams, since the collapse of the Boulanger movement. On the other hand, if any fact is evident, it is that the actual government of France is in the hands of, or at least is conducted under the influence of, the sectarians, who do not reflect the mind of the majority of the French. That mind does not, for the moment, appear to be either religious or monarchistic. Neither is it sectarian, but it favors the sectarians, either through fear of the monarchy or through love of governmental stability. Very well! Free France from the dominion of the secret societies, place her tranquilly in possession of herself, and what will happen? Leo XIII tells us in his letter to the Bishop of Grenoble: "The people will advance towards the good, and as soon as they shall place their powerful will in the balance of things, we shall see society, transformed, hold it an honor to bow before God, to contribute to so beautiful and patriotic a result." Now if, according to monarchists, religion is so intimately related to the monarchy in France that the one is the indispensable complement of the other, the people, in hastening toward religion, will at the same time hasten toward the monarchy, and the order of transmission of power, which for a certain time has been interrupted, will resume its natural course.

Doubtless Leo XIII's unique desire is to safeguard the interests of religion, and, at the present hour, that cannot be done without loyally recognizing the republic. As for the consequences of his acts to this or that party, the Pope is not concerned. Among these possible consequences, there is that of a natural return of France to the monarchy. No one can therefore foresee,—as we have observed above,—whether the Encyclical of Leo XIII signalizes the opening of a new period, or is destined to be but an episode, a most important episode, doubtless, but after all only an episode, in the history of France.

The monarchical question has for a number of years been ill presented. The Comte de Chambord, if he lacked the suppleness necessary to popular success,—and we are far from reproaching him for this,—kept his flag pure of all compromise. Since his time, we have beheld the partisans of the two hostile monarchies fighting side by side to overthrow the republic, but with the firmly expressed resolution to overthrow one another on the day of victory. This is a complicated attitude, and one which will never attract the sympathies of the people, who are essentially the friends of simplicity. We have also heard extolled the odious makeshift which consists in declaring one's self ready to accept any régime whatever, so that it be not the republic! After that cry had subsided, the two monarchies permitted themselves to be taken in tow by an adventurer, General Boulanger, who at the same time dragged along the dregs of the republican and socialistic party! When one has such blunders as this to his account, he needs to renounce all hope of immediate success, and withdraw to his tent. Political victories are obtained only by pursuing clear, simple, deliberate programs. It is to a program of this kind that the German Center owes its force and its triumphs. It is to the absence of such a program that the French monarchists owe their defeats. By insisting on their holding their peace and withdrawing from the political arena, Leo XIII, without dreaming or desiring to do so, is rendering them the greatest of services. If there remains any hope for them, it can only be based upon a change of attitude and of policy. But such a change is for the moment impossible. It is, therefore, the part of better wisdom to cease fighting and to retire into silence.

Independently of his religious views, Leo XIII has shown great political clearness in thus insisting upon a pacification. Such a pacification seems incomprehensible to some without a total abdication in favor of the sectarians. This is the reverse of the truth. Leo XIII wishes to pacify France without the sectarians or in defiance of them, whether they be in the possession of the government or no. He summons all those who are weary of the struggle against the Church, disgusted with combat, desirous of repose, to labor for this pacification. And the number of such is legion! They are to be found in governmental circles, where they dare not show themselves, either because of their respect for individual men, or because of fear. They are to be found in greater numbers in the body of the nation. Again it is to them that Leo XIII addresses himself.

And how wise is this policy, and how well it prepares the way for the future! The youth of France is neither Voltairean nor skeptical. It has religious aspirations, vague, doubtless, and ill-defined, but real.

Bruised by doubt, tired of materialism, disgusted with skepticism, the French, "the young," especially, thirst for an ideal, hunger for certitude. If they find a good Samaritan ready to bind their wounds, they will be restored, perchance, to complete health, to religion, to faith. Leo XIII has desired to be that good Samaritan, and for this reason he has been unwilling that the Church and the Papacy should present themselves to the young generation like casts from an old mold and encumbered by ideas and traditions not understood by a youth reared far from the Church and outside of the ancient political régime. He has been desirous that the Church should appear to them what in fact she is: a sympathetic mother, abounding in tenderness, who speaks to the hearts of her children, without the intervention of conventional formulas, without the security of official protectors, whose unpopularity would have rebounded against her.

Mgr. Baunard, in a book which bears the beautiful title, "Hope," has collected the indications of a reawakening of the religious idea in France. France there shows, feeble as yet, but real symptoms of an approaching return to health. There are in the book some extremely curious evidence from men, strangers to our beliefs, but quite conversant with the contemporary movement of minds.

Here, among others, is a passage written by M. Edouard Rod which is significant: "The world which seemed to be progressing with dizzy swiftness towards materialism and negation, towards radicalism and anarchy, is halting in its march, and, after a moment of hesitation, appears to be entering upon a movement in the opposite direction. Wrongly or rightly, we are reverting to the course laid out by preceding generations; we are revising their work, and no one knows but that in striving to correct it we shall put it entirely aside. We are then in reaction; and the moral and religious reaction which we have especially noted in these studies, however important it may be, is only an episode in the general reaction."

"It is very true," M. Lavisse writes in his turn, "it is very true that as M. Anatole France has said, the youth of to-day is not Voltairean. Negation and irony are to-day detested quite as much as the recognizedly hollow affirmations of the doctrinaires in philosophy and politics are disdained. Thence it happens that a part of the youth, the smaller part, it is true, and indeed a small minority, is grouping itself in serried ranks about the Church. . . . Another, and a more considerable part, is seeking an outlet in science, in politics, and the democracy, without knowing what democracy is, knowing only that it is, and that the trend is towards it. So that one of the marks of the youth of to-day, I mean of the youth that think, is the nostalgia of the divine. Now,

it appears that the generation which at the present time occupies the benches of the universities and colleges only awaits the moment when it shall be summoned to rise and march."

How does M. Lavisse know? "I know," he replies, "many young *homines bonæ voluntatis*. They are confident of the future. We have observed this confidence grow from year to year. Every day we receive oral or written witnesses to this hope of a renaissance. Just what that renaissance will be, we do not exactly know; the youth themselves do not exactly know; still mysterious, but near at hand, and perchance majestic, an evolution is working itself out. An insensible growth is directing the rising generation, and a renaissance of the national mind is near at hand. This statement has been made to me a number of times in the same language, with this reservation of mystery, in the sincere intimacy of conversation or correspondence."

What a trait of genius, or rather what celestial illumination in Leo XIII, to have recognized the disposition of minds and to have adopted the attitude and the language best fitted to lead souls back to the truth and the Catholic Faith! The successor of the Fisherman of Galilee perceived that there was a great catch to be made. He is fisher of men, like Peter he has entered the waters of the modern world, there to make the catch which his divine Master summoned him to make. In order to arrive at the goal of his ambition, Leo XIII could, without scruple, run the risk of ruffling the self-love of some politicians, nay, even of disturbing some upright souls. It is not well to imitate that pious woman who one day complained to Mgr. Dupanloup that, since her curé had filled the church with workingmen, there was no room for her to pray there! . . . There are certain delicacies and certain scruples which are a little bit too much like pharisaism. Let us leave the exiles who are seeking their way, and let us not mask the pure light which emanates from the Church with our political preferences which are dreaded and detested, possibly with little reason, by the new generation.

After having pointed out the opportuneness of the acts of Leo XIII from the supreme point of view of the interest of souls, let us say a word of another aspect of these acts.

The attitude of Leo XIII towards France has without doubt had an essentially religious end in view; nevertheless, it has certain indisputable political consequences, one of which should be pleasing to every Frenchman.

In an interview published by the *Gaulois*, the following words, which he has not denied, are attributed to Mgr. Ferrata: "By patriotism they do not attack the Czar, who has already proved, at Cronstadt, that he recognized the republican form of government in France, but they

attack the Pope, who wittingly gave to France, by recognizing the republican government, the moral force which made the Franco-Russian understanding possible."

It will be remembered that after Cronstadt the most eminent members of the bar congratulated the government upon the success obtained. Now, this success was the indirect consequence of the attitude of the Pope, as all the world agrees, and the ill humor of the Triple Alliance over the matter was manifest proof of the fact. The displeasure extended even to the Catholics of Germany, who were vexed to see the Holy See so solidly support the French influence. The Franco-Russian celebrations in 1893, which were as the crown to the celebrations of Cronstadt and had a political significance of the first order, were not, even they, without relation to the attitude of the Pope towards France. Leo XIII, in becoming reconciled with the republic, at the same time caused France to escape from its political isolation. This consequence, though not directly sought by the Sovereign Pontiff, was not of a nature to displease him, for he has always been favorable to the pacific regeneration of France.

The conclusion of these reflections is that French Catholics, as Catholics and as Frenchmen, owe Leo XIII the greatest gratitude for having extricated them from the deep rut into which they had fallen and for having placed them upon a broader and more prosperous road, which will be, we hope, the road of religious salvation and temporal achievement.

Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan,
Archbishop of San Francisco, Cal.

Most Rev. B. L. Chapelle,
Archbishop of New Orleans, La.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Poems of Pope Leo—The Jubilees—His Latest Encyclicals—The Tribute of Cardinal Gibbons—The Letter of April 15, 1902.

THE Holy Father has led a busy life,—the great number of Encyclicals written by him attest that. It is safe to say that these documents would fill at least eight large volumes. When we consider the care with which the data upon which they were founded had to be examined, the weighing of circumstances and conditions, the verification of the smallest quotation from remote sources, we are amazed that Leo XIII has had time to be a poet,—for the poet, as well as the orator, is made by years of thought and leisure, as well as born. Leo XIII is sincerely a man of letters and an artist in letters.

The Pope shares Dante's intense admiration of Virgil; an admiration made very evident in "*Carmina Novissima,*" which has a preface by Father Enrico Valle, of the Society of Jesus. Andrew Lang made some very good translations from the later poems of Leo. The best translation, up to 1887, is that by the Jesuits of Woodstock College. One of the most exquisite of the Pope's poems is "*Ars Photographica:*"

"Expressa solis spiculo
Nitens imago, quam bene
Frontis decus, vim luminum
Refers, et oris gratiam.

"O mira virtus ingeni
Novumque monstrum! Imaginem
Naturæ Apelles æmulus
Non pulchriorem pingeret."

These lines translated into English, lose something by their useless ornament of rhyme; but they are admirably done:

"Sun-wrought image! All may see
Bright and beaming writ in thee
Gracious features, thought-crowned brow,
Eyes with living light aglow.

"Modern wit is master here:
Not Apelles, Nature's peer,
Could with truer pencil trace
Thy unlabored, clear-cut grace."

A set of verses, "*Ad Florum*" (1883), shows the tenderness of the Holy Father,—as well as his power,—now very rare,—of making Latin a living language.

"Florus, my dear youth," he writes, "a fiery fever wastes thee."

"Florus" is the name he applied to a mere boy, the heir of a noble family, who one day entered his audience chamber. Leo noted his pallor, his sickly eyes, his emaciation; he had come to the Pope as to a father; he had wasted himself, young as he was, in prodigal living. This fact he confessed to the Holy Father, who admonished and consoled him, sweetly and simply advising him to retire to a Carthusian monastery, there to read the meditations of Denis, a monk of that order, surnamed the Divine, on the "Four Last Things." This advice Leo put into poetry, which might easily be translated into the sonnet form, but which has not that form in Latin.

"Florus, thy nerveless limbs scarce bear thy drooping frame; thou thirstily and shamelessly drank'st from the cups brimmed with hell's poison,—these are the cups of Circe that change thee to the shape of the beasts, the dog and the swine. Be wise, O miserable one, be wise, and, if thou carest to be saved, flee from the destructive shore and its songs of the sirens."

Ad Florum.

Flore puer, vesana diu te febris adurit:
  Inficit immundo languida membra situ
Dira lues; cupidis stygio respersa veneno,
  Nec pudor est, labiis pocula plena bibis.
Pocula sunt Circes: apparent ora ferarum;
  Sus vel amica luto, vel truculentus aper.
Si sapis, o tandem miser expergiscere, tandem,
  Ulla ture si te cura salutis habet.
Heu fuge Sirenum cantus, fuge litis avarum
  Et te Carthusi, Flore, reconde sinu
Haec tibi certa salus; Carthusi e fontibus hausta
  Continuo sordes proluet unda tuos.

"*Deo et Virgini Matri, Extrema Leonis Vota,*"—To God and the Virgin Mother, the last prayer of Leo, is one of the most beautiful and touching of all the poems which Leo XIII has written to the present year of grace.

"The last ray is gone; the sun pales and growing shadowed dies; black night falls, O Leo! Death grasps thee, and thy veins, dried, no longer feel the coursing blood; life, leaving thy exhausted body, flees. The deathly dart is fatal; the shroud clings to thy bones, that soon shall lie imprisoned beneath the cold, cold stone. Soars, then, the soul to

Heaven, the goal of all its hopes. Flies fast the spirit; the end of its long road is near. Its cry hear, O Lord,—its longing cry of agony.

"Heaven grant me; and blissful boon of all, keep me eternally in thy Beatific Light. Take me, O Virgin, thee whom I, as a little child, loved with the love of a son for a mother; now, grown old, I love more and more. Take me; and I, a citizen of Heaven, will praise thee who gave me so glorious a thing."

The poems of Leo XIII are exquisite in their Latinity and elevated and tender in sentiment. They suffer in form by translation; but their sincerity, their sweetness, their aspirational qualities show that the heart of the Pontiff Poet still remained as pure and loving and simple as it was in his father's house.

It is impossible within any reasonable space to analyze the later letters of Leo XIII. We can only deal with their results and these results have been very far-reaching. The policy of the Pope has been neither destructive nor pessimistic. It has fulfilled all the hopes of the early days of his Pontificate. The world outside the Church has come to regard Leo XIII as the strongest conservative force now acting in Western civilization. Even the essential principles stated in the Encyclical directed against the perversions of the Freemasons of the Continent were admitted by the Masons of England and the United States who had revolted against the atheism of the Grand Orient. In the line of the letter on Socialism followed in 1901, the Encyclical *"Grave de Communis,"* which distinguished between the evil and the good in the popular movements and applies again the theses of the *"Novarum Rerum."*

The opening sentences of the Encyclical *Grave de Communi* expose the reasons which prompted the Holy Father to its writing. He speaks of the growth in frequency and intensity of discussions on economic matters which have their rise in an unsound philosophy and ethics, and which, from the acrimony of the professional agitator between capital and labor, are filling sane-minded men with worry and alarm. He reviews the position of the Pontificate towards these questions, and the Encyclical letters he himself has sent forth on the subject. The great good resulting from these letters, both to Catholics and non-Catholics, is recalled. Confusion has arisen as to the proper name for this movement of "popular benevolence." It has been called "Christian Socialism," "The Popular Christian Movement" and "Christian Democracy," the last in contradistinction to "Social Democracy," as its adherents are called "Christian Democrats," in distinction to "Socialists." The term "Christian Democracy," seemingly ambiguous, was objected to on two grounds. "It seems by implication to covertly favor popular government and to disparage other methods of political adminis-

tration. Secondly, it appears to belittle religion by restricting its scope to the care of the poor, as if the other sections of society were not of its concern. More than that, under the shadow of its name there might easily lurk a design to attack all legitimate power, either civil or sacred." So much preliminary explanation being made, the real purpose of the letter is defined. "Wherefore, since this discussion is now so widespread, so exaggerated and so bitter, the consciousness of duty warns us to put a check on this controversy and to define what Catholics are to think on this matter. We also propose to describe how the movement may extend its scope and be made more useful to the commonwealth." The distinction between Social Democracy and Christian Democracy follows. The former, by the intemperate utterances of many of its partisans, maintains man's happiness to consist in "the acquirement and enjoyment of corporal and external goods," and that there is nothing existing above the natural order of things. It would place all governments in the people's hands, level all ranks, abolish class distinction and introduce community of goods. The right of ownership would be done away with and a common means of livelihood and possession established.

On the other hand, Christian Democracy from its very Christianity is necessarily built on the basic principles of Divine Faith, and provides for the betterment of the masses because such betterment would give opportunity for directing their minds towards everlasting things. It maintains and asserts the principles whose denial constitutes the foundation of Social Democracy.

The term "Christian Democracy" in its present significance prescinds from any political application and means nothing but "a benevolent and Christian movement in behalf of the people." The laws of nature and the Gospel which underlie the movement are independent of the modifications of civil government and must be absolutely free from political parties. "Hence, the mind and the action of Catholics who are devoted to the amelioration of the working classes can never be actuated with the purpose of favoring and introducing one government in place of another."

In seeking the welfare of the laboring classes the Christian Democrat must not forget the upper classes of society, who are of the greatest use in the preservation and perfection of the commonwealth. The law of charity extends to all men, to rich as well as to poor. In addition it is necessary by nature of the bond between the classes of society that the hold on the upper classes should be kept "because association with them is proper and necessary, as we shall explain later on, for the happy issue of the work in which we are engaged."

"Let there be no question of fostering under this name of Christian Democracy any intention of diminishing the spirit of obedience, or of withdrawing people from their lawful rulers. Both the natural and the Christian law command us to revere those who, in their various grades, are above us in the State, and to submit ourselves to their just commands. It is quite in keeping with our dignity as men and Christians to obey, not only exteriorly, but from the heart, as the Apostle expresses it, for conscience sake, when he commands us to keep our soul subject to the higher powers. . . . Let the faithful everywhere implant these principles deep in their souls, and put them in practice in their daily life, and let the ministers of the Gospel meditate them profoundly and incessantly labor not merely by exhortation but especially by example to make them enter into the souls of others." The purpose in recalling these matters which have been similarly treated before in other letters is that the dissension about Christian Democracy will cease and the suspicion of danger coming from the signification of the word will be done away with. The whole philosophy of Christian Democracy is summed up as follows: "To make the condition of those who toil more tolerable; to enable them to obtain, little by little, those means by which they may provide for the future; to help them to practice in public and in private the duties which morality and religion inculcate; to aid them to feel they are not animals but men, not heathens but Christians, and so to enable them to strive more zealously and more eagerly for the one thing which is necessary, viz., that ultimate good for which we are all born into this world. This is the intention; this is the work of those who wish that people should be animated by Christian sentiments and should be protected from the contamination of Socialism which threatens them."

Another careful distinction is made by the Holy Father. A very common error is that the social question is merely economic, whereas it is a moral and religious matter and must be settled by the principles of morality and the dictates of religion. "For even though wages are doubled and the hours of labor shortened and food cheapened, yet if the workingman hearkens to the doctrines that are taught on this subject, as he is prone to do, and is prompted by the examples set before him to throw off respect for God and to enter upon a life of immorality, his labors and his gain will avail him naught."

Time and experience have shown, the letter goes on to note, that in spite of shorter hours and larger wages, the laborer lives in cramped and miserable quarters because of his disregard of religious and moral restraint. No one can achieve prosperity however he may strive if he casts aside "prudence, temperance, frugality, patience and other cor-

rect natural habits." For the reason of the importance of accentuating the religious phase of the question Catholics have been "incessantly exhorted" to engage in this work and have been warned that it is to be done "under the auspices of religion and with its help and guidance." The zeal of Catholics in coming to the rescue of their fellowmen should be solicitous first for "the imperishable good of the soul," but not neglectful of what is necessary and helpful for the body. After speaking of the law of charity which should dominate and inspire all the workings of the movement, of the establishment of permanent institutions for the improvement of the laboring classes, and of the great good to be done by the upper classes, "whose rank, worldly wealth and culture give them importance in the community," the Holy Father makes an earnest plea for united action against the dreadful ravages of socialism, "the harvest of misery before our eyes," which have penetrated the heart of the State and by its harangues and writings encourages the masses to seditious and evil ways. The evil demands that all good men should be of one will in the concern of State and religion. Especially should the ministry be industrious in the inculcation of right doctrine and the teaching of charity and prudence. Its healthy influence is to be exerted by adapting itself to the present condition of affairs.

There remains one thing upon which we desire to insist very strongly, in which not only the ministers of the Gospel, but also all those who are devoting themselves to the cause of the people, can with very little difficulty bring about a most commendable result. That is to inculcate into the minds of the people, in a brotherly way and whenever the opportunity presents itself, the following principles, viz., to keep aloof on all occasions from seditious acts and seditious men; to guard inviolate the rights of others; to show a proper respect to superiors; to willingly perform the work in which they are employed; not to grow weary of the restraint of family life which in many ways is so advantageous; to keep to their religious practices above all, and in their hardships and trials to have recourse to the Church for consolation. In conclusion he exhorts all Catholics to be obedient in their plans to the advice of their Bishops, to be examples of virtue, to hate idleness and indulgence, to give willingly from his goods for the help of others and to stand firm and unconquered in the midst of adversity.

"Thus by the correct, concurrent and ever-increasing labor of all Catholics, the truth will flash out more brilliantly than ever, viz., that truth and true prosperity flourish especially among those peoples whom the Church controls and influences; and that she holds it as her sacred duty to admonish everyone of what the law of God enjoins, to unite

the rich and the poor in the bonds of fraternal charity, and to lift up and strengthen men's souls in the times when adversity presses heavily upon them."

The reader of this Life, intimate as it is, sympathetic as it is with the personality and work of the Holy Father, can readily understand why the conditions of the Jubilee of 1900-01 should have been even more enthusiastically complied with than those of the famous one proclaimed by Clement VI in 1343, when one million pilgrims visited the Lateran Church. During the Jubilee the streets of every Christian city in the world were crowded by the devout, determined to visit the various prescribed churches and to pray for the intention of the Pope.

Four jubilees have taken place since Leo XIII ascended the Papal throne. That of 1900,—the Holy Year,—was in line with the first jubilee of 1300. The word Jubilee is of Jewish origin. It is proclaimed every twenty-five years, and during the time of its extension, the faithful, having repented, are, on the performance of certain named acts of piety, set free from the temporal consequences of sin.

The other three proclaimed were the jubilee of the ordination of Leo XIII in 1888,—that of his elevation to the episcopate and the silver celebration of his Pontificate. This began on February 20th, the twenty-fourth anniversary of his election as Pope. It will last for a year. The opening of it was very magnificently celebrated at St. Peter's. The anniversary of the coronation of the Holy Father, which was marked, on March 3rd, by even greater splendor, was a diplomatic, as well as a religious function. France, Germany, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Great Britain, Russia, Saxony, Holland and all South America were diplomatically represented. "It was an ocular proof," as an American visitor writes, "of the power of Leo in bringing the nations together. It seemed to me, as I stood, dazzled by the white radiance of the Holy Father and the glitter of the noble throng, that the United States, acknowledged by all nations as the giant of the West, whose brain must influence the councils of Europe, ought not to have been absent."

On December 24, 1899, Leo XIII, using the golden hammer presented to him by the Bishops of Italy, struck, under the peristyle of St. Peter's, near the statue of Charlemagne, the holy door, closed since the jubilee of 1825. At the same time the same ceremony was performed in the three other basilicas. Cardinal Satolli performed it at St. John Lateran, Cardinal Vincenzo Vannuntelli at Saint Mary Major's and Cardinal Oreglia at St. Paul's outside-the-walls. In the sixty-nine ceremonies at St. Peter's, or the Sistine Chapel, the Holy Father blessed during the Jubilee 2,000,000 pilgrims, of whom nearly a million were foreigners.

The Holy Father's interest in the progress of the United States, and especially in the advancement of the Catholic University, has been constant. The Rector was named Titular Bishop of Samos, in 1901, and among the latest of the honors bestowed on it was that of the appointment of Dr. Grannan to the commission on questions relating to Holy Writ. The other members of the commission charged with the examination of modern developments on Scriptural matters are,—Cardinal Parrocchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church; and Cardinals Segna, prefect of the Vatican archives, and Vives y Tuto, as Assessors and the following as Consultors: Very Rev. Charles P. Grannan, D. D., of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Van Hoonacker, Professor of Scripture at the University of Louvain, Belgium; Dr. Fracassini, Professor of the Seminary, Perugia, Italy; Dr. Jorio, Professor at Valencia, Spain; Dr. Esser, Secretary of the Congregation of the Index; Dr. Vigouroux, Professor at the Catholic Institute, Paris, France; Dr. de Hammelauer, S. J., College of St. Ignatius, Holland; Dr. Gismondi, S. J., Professor at the Gregorian University, Rome; Dr. A. P. Amelli, O. S. B., Prior of the Monastery of Monte Cassino, Italy; Dr. Robert F. Clark, D. D., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster, England; Dr. A. Poels, Holland; Dr. David Fleming, O. P. M., Superior-General of the Franciscan order, and Secretary of the Commission.

Dr. Grannan was born in Wisconsin and began his classical education at Bardstown, Ky., but completed it at Montreal. He finished his theological studies at the Propaganda, in Rome, where he received the doctorate in philosophy in 1874, and the doctorate in theology in 1880. He served two years on the missions in New York and from thence went to Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmittsburg, Md., where he was professor of Sacred Scripture and of Dogmatic Theology, and was also for a time president of that institution. Called to the Catholic University before its opening in 1889, he spent two years at the most famous universities of Europe, pursuing special studies, and assumed the position of professor of Sacred Scripture at the University in 1891.

On the departure of Archbishop Keane, the first rector of the University, the Reverend Dr. Conaty, now titular Bishop of Samos, was named to succeed him by the Board of Trustees. The Very Reverend Dr. Garrigan remained vice-rector. He was, in April, 1902, preconized Bishop of Sioux City, Iowa.

Pope Leo's deep concern for the welfare of religion in the Philippines was manifested in his cordial reception of the suggestion that commissioners from America should proceed to Rome to consider the status of the lands held by the religious orders. This insight into the very heart of

the difficulties precipitated by the acquisition by the United States of Cuba and the Philippines amazed even those who had known the wonderful keenness of perception he had evinced in the most important and delicate diplomatic situation in a long lifetime.

The Encyclical issued just before Easter, 1902, was regarded by Leo as his last testament. In it, he said that he hoped to encourage the Catholic Bishops throughout the world to continue vigorously to resist the persecutions which now afflict the Church. These persecutions will continue, but they will not affect the spread of the light of Christ among infidels. Never has humanity found itself in more miserable conditions than at present. There is disorder in all social relations and especially in family relations; excessive liberty has been created which has fostered anarchy and socialism.

"Unjust wars," the Encyclical says, "are being waged by strong nations against weak and feeble peoples. There are exaggerated armaments among great nations, the effect of which are even more disastrous than war. All these things have created world-wide inquietude. Unceasing troubles and misery have provoked the people to anarchism, which henceforth promises to constitute a formidable league against emperors, kings and presidents of all governments. These governments must adopt decisive measures for the defense of genuine liberty and must enforce the teaching of religion.

"In conclusion, the Pope invokes the union of Christianity as the leading remedy to save society from the violent attacks of atheists. He maintains the necessity of upholding the temporal right of the Pope and counsels the active spread of Catholic workingmen's societies.

"His Holiness thanks the Bishops for their manifestations on the occasion of his jubilee and proceeds to deplore the spread of atheism, which he finds to be invading all the departments of the State. He also condemns the forthcoming institution of the law of divorce in Italy, and urges all Catholics to combat doctrines contrary to religion."

It is well known to those in the intimate circle of the Holy Father that he is most anxious to bring Americans closer to him. The complications in the Philippines have given him deep concern, and the appointment of Mr. Taft on a mission to Rome, with economic but no diplomatic significance, is hailed by him as an instance of the reciprocal confidence of President Roosevelt and the people of the United States.

On April 15, 1902, the Holy Father addressed a most affectionate letter to His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, and the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States:

To Our Beloved Son, James Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, and to the Other Archbishops and Bishops of the United States of America:

Dearly Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, Greeting!

Rightly do We rejoice because of a very rare occurrence. We are, namely, the third in the long line of Roman Pontiffs to enter upon a twenty-fifth year of the Supreme Pontificate. Because of their reverence for the Apostolic See, the Catholics of the whole world offer Us their congratulations. But while We hold very dear in this concourse of good wishes the accents of every nation, We are made particularly happy by those which convey the good wishes of the Bishops and people of the United States of America, both because of the position of your nation, easily superior to that of most others, and because of the special fondness that We entertain for you.

You were pleased, Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, to recall in your common letter the details of those deeds which Our affection for you impelled Us to perform during the course of this lengthy Pontificate. In turn, it gives Us pleasure to remember with gratitude the numerous and manifold consolations which you have offered Us during the whole period. On the very threshold of Our Pontificate, the vision of your church filled Us with a great joy. And now that We have completed the twenty-fourth year of Our administration, We feel compelled to confess that the same sweet joy has never grown less; rather has it gone on deepening from day to day by reason of the growth of Catholicism among you. And though to the grace of God, indeed, that growth is primarily owing, it is also the result of your own active energies and labors. It must be admitted that with an excellent prudence you have understood the nature and temperament of the American people, and have so wisely administered the religious situation as to make provision for every kind of Catholic institution suited to the needs and the character of your people. Most particularly do We praise you for the earnestness with which you have cultivated in the past, and do now cultivate, your union with this chief Church and the Vicar of Christ on earth. Here, indeed, and you rightly confess it, is the crown, the center, of all that government, teaching, and priesthood whence arises the unity with which Christ endowed His church, as a mark to distinguish it from all sects of human origin. Through Us the salutary benefits of that government and teaching have never been wanting to you, any more than to other peoples. We have gladly seized every suitable occasion to bear witness to Our constant solicitude for you and the welfare of religion among you, and Our daily experience compels Us to make known that We have

ever found your minds and hearts filled with docility, good-will, and all desirable responsiveness.

Hence it is that while the attitude and temper of nearly all the old-time Catholic nations cause Us grief, your churches, with their first bloom and glow of youth, do delight Our heart and fill it with an intimate joy. There is, it is true, no favor from the civil constitution and government; but the rulers of the commonwealth are rightly to be praised, since in no wise do they interfere with your just liberty. Both you and your flocks must profit, therefore, by every favorable occasion to shed far and wide the light of truth against the spread of errors and the growth of sects that profess absurd opinions. We are not ignorant of the zeal with which each one of you, Venerable Brethren, labors for the establishment and perfection of schools and colleges for the correct formation of youth. This is quite in keeping with the exhortations of the Holy See and the orders of the Council of Baltimore. So, too, your solicitude for ecclesiastical seminaries contributes to the increase of the clergy, both in number and worthiness. What more can We add? You have exhibited a wise zeal in setting apart learned and reliable clergymen for the purpose of instructing those who differ from us, and drawing them to the knowledge of the truth. These clergymen go from place to place; both in churches and in other buildings they make public addresses in the language of familiar conversation, and refute whatever objections are placed before them. This is an excellent institution, and We know that you have already profited much by it. Nor have you forgotten in your charity the unhappy condition of the colored people and the Indians. Through the teachers of the faith that you send them, and through your generous contributions, you provide with great earnestness for their eternal welfare. It delights Us to repeat these deeds, and to bestow upon them the praise and approval that they deserve. Thereby, were it necessary, We would urge you to dare still greater things. Finally, lest We appear ungrateful, We would have you know that We are highly pleased because of the generosity with which your people by their collections endeavor to succor the Apostolic See in its present straits. Indeed, the Vicar of Christ, as the chief Pastor and Father of the faithful, is confronted with many great and urgent demands in order to ward off the dangers that threaten the Catholic faith. Your generosity is, therefore, at once a trial and an evidence of your faith.

For all these reasons We are pleased to express again and again the good-will that We entertain for you. As a proof of this, and a good omen of the divine blessings, most lovingly in the Lord do We extend to all of you and to your flocks the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, April 15, 1902, in the twenty-fifth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

On the occasion of a recent celebration in the Cathedral at Baltimore, His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, who has been specially honored by the Holy Father, gave some interesting and sympathetic personal reminiscences of his beloved Father and friend.

"During my episcopal career," the Cardinal said, "I have visited Rome six times, and on each occasion I have met the present Pope. My first visit to Rome was on the occasion of the Vatican Council in 1869. The Holy Father was then known as Cardinal Pecci, Archbishop of Perugia. His image is now before me as he appeared during the council. He impressed me then as a courtly prelate of a striking personality, as a man who would be singled out as a conspicuous churchman in a group of eminent ecclesiastics.

"I attended all the sessions of the Vatican Council, which lasted upward of seven months, and I observed that Cardinal Pecci never spoke once in the general or public congregations. But he contributed in no small measure to the success of that great synod by the wisdom of his counsel in the private deliberations of the Bishops.

"My next visit to Rome was in 1880, two years after Leo was elevated to the chair of Peter. I well remember with what eagerness and delight I determined to thank the Holy Father for having invested John Henry Newman with the sacred purple. Few official acts of the Sovereign Pontiff were received with more genuine satisfaction by the English-speaking world than this practical and graceful recognition of the eminent services rendered to religion by England's illustrious scholar and divine.

"During the same summer, in company with Bishop Curtis, I paid a visit to Cardinal Newman at his home in Edgbaston, near Birmingham. We breakfasted with him and spent the morning with him in most interesting conversation. I need not say with what pleasure I listened to the fund of anecdote and narrative that flowed so abundantly from his well-stored mind.

"The third time I met Leo XIII was in the fall of 1883 and the spring of 1884. The Holy Father had invited the Archbishops of the United States to Rome for the purpose of holding a series of conferences with three of the most learned Roman Cardinals. These conferences formed the basis of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which was held in November, 1884, and which was the most numerous and important deliberative assembly that met outside the Eternal City for three centuries.

"My fourth visit to the Holy Father was in 1887, when His Holiness invited me to Rome to confer upon me the unmerited honor of the cardinalatial insignia. During my sojourn in Rome that year the Pope bestowed on me many marks of his paternal affection and friendship. These many evidences of his sovereign benevolence are too sacred for public utterance, but are indelibly imprinted upon my heart and memory.

"I again saw His Holiness in 1895, and lastly during the past summer. I recognized little alteration in his appearance, except that his form appeared to be more bent and his emaciated face was almost as white and transparent as an alabaster statue. But his eye retained the brightness and penetration and his mind the vigor and lucidity of former years, and his memory was strikingly retentive, as was evident from several incidents which occurred in my presence. On one occasion I introduced to His Holiness a young married couple from Quebec. As soon as I mentioned Quebec, the Pope replied: 'Oh, you are under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Begin.' He added: 'Monsignor Begin is the successor of Cardinal Taschereau.' Then, turning to me, he said, 'Cardinal Taschereau received the red hat with Your Eminence.'

"We may judge the accuracy of his retentive faculty from the consideration that upwards of fourteen years had expired since this incident occurred.

"On another occasion I accompanied His Holiness while he was giving an audience to about 150 persons assembled in the Aula Clementina from various parts of the Christian world. The Pope asked a lady surrounded by her children whence she came. She replied by giving the name of the Spanish city. He at once remarked: 'You have recently lost your Bishop.' One cannot but admire this retentive memory when we consider that the Pope is in daily communication with upward of 1,000 Bishops scattered throughout the globe.

"I do not know," added His Eminence, "whether Providence will spare me to pay homage to another Supreme Pontiff, but whether my life is short or long, or whatever may be the future line of Popes sitting in the chair of Peter, I shall always cherish a special filial affection to and the tenderest memories of Leo XIII."

The name of the American Cardinal is held in nearly as much reverence as that of the Sovereign Pontiff, and his words make a fitting close to this chapter in the "Life of Pope Leo XIII."

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Pope's Twenty-fifth Anniversary—Presentation of the Triple Crown of Gold—The Celebration at St. Peter's—Glorification in Rome.

WHEN the announcement was made, over four years ago, that a committee had been organized in Rome to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pope Leo, many shook their heads and said that the venerable head of the Catholic Church would never live to enjoy the honor which would be tendered him in 1903. The celebration of his anniversary is now a fact of history. Although ninety-three years of age, the Pontiff on that day was still the world's grand old man, the most picturesque and inspiring ruler, the head of a dynasty that has never fallen. He was fresh of spirit, enthusiastic, and possessed of the mental vigor of youth.

The closing feasts of the Jubilee began on February 20, 1903. A Pontifical audience was granted in the morning to the deputations, and to the priests and Bishops present in Rome for the event. His Eminence, the Cardinal-Vicar, presented the Pope with the triple crown of gold, which symbolized the triple majesty of the Papacy. It was a gift of the Catholic world to the Holy Father. The large sum of money raised by the Tertiaries of St. Francis for the restoration of the roof of St. John Lateran's was next offered him. A third group, representing the international committee for the Solemn Homage to the Divine Redeemer, tendered Leo a tiara, together with a sum of Peter's Pence. After this Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, in the name of his Lombard people, gave a splendid medal commemorative of the Jubilee, a sum of money, and, finally, the representatives of the province of Ferrari offered the Peter's Pence and symbolical keys.

The solemn triduum of thanksgiving was begun on the same day, and on Sunday, February 22, a banquet was given in the Belvedere Hall of the Vatican to 1,000 poor people, in honor of the Pope, who was sometimes known as the Father of the Poor.

On March 2 a new feature was added to the Jubilee celebrations. On this day, the Pope assembled all the Cardinals of the Curia and those who had come to Rome. By doing this the Holy Father came more closely in touch with the Sacred College.

On March 4 a pathetic incident occurred in the Pope's private library. The occasion was a reception which he gave to the Cardinals, and when

the venerable man spoke of his advanced age, there was a note of sadness in his voice; he said that his demise might occur at any moment. But at this all the Cardinals shouted in chorus:

"No, No! We are all here to wish you a long life."

In a blaze of splendor, such as characterizes all the important functions of the Catholic Church, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of Pope Leo was celebrated in Rome on March 3.

People from all parts of the world, personages from high and low walks of life were present, and the immense crowd equalled in both enthusiasm and brilliance any of the great assemblages that have ever gathered within the walls of St. Peter's.

When the sun arose and looked down upon the historic city, Rome donned her gala day garments and every inhabitant became active. The hotels were all decorated, as were the important buildings and many private residences. In the piazza of St. Peter's were assembled hundreds of Italian troops, whose modern uniforms formed a striking contrast to the medieval dress of the Swiss Papal guards, who were on duty at the doors of the cathedral. A large, surging, impatient crowd stood before the first company of troops, awaiting admission to St. Peter's, where the celebration was to take place. In the dripping rain, mingled with the men, were many women, foreigners and Italians, together with groups of nuns attired in the varied habits of their orders, and friars and clerical students dressed in their symbolical robes. The large crowd manifested a spirit of discontent in its impatience.

Finally the doors were thrown open and when the first fierce rush began it became a veritable pandemonium. All forms of conventionality were for the time forgotten in the struggle to gain an entrance into the sacred edifice. The tribunes were soon filled to overflowing, and all the standing room was taken.

After the great rush, calm settled upon the vast assembly and the attention of the crowd was fixed upon the gilded throne near the high altar. From the immense pillars of the basilica hung, in artistic folds, large silken draperies of red, and many men and women in the tribunes on either side of the altar were decorated in resplendent colors, constituting a scene of unequalled brilliance. In a group of royal personages were the Crown Princess Victoria of Sweden and Norway, the Countess Mathilde of Trano, of the Bourbon-Naples family; the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, Duke Robert of Parma, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg, the Prince of Lichtenstein, and Prince Maximillian of Saxony, while in a special tribune, all in full uniform, were the Pope's family, the diplomatic corps, and the members of the Order of Malta.

The uniforms of the different detachments of the Papal guards at-

tracted considerable attention. The Swiss guard wore large white linen collars in addition to their stiff collars, red velvet knee-breeches, red silk stockings, black shoes with red rosettes, and burnished steel cuirasses inlaid with gold. The silver-mounted arms of the Swiss guard were also inlaid with gold, and they wore steel helmets with red ostrich plumes, which made them similar to the helmets of the sixteenth century. The Noble guard wore their new uniforms of light red.

At last the grand procession began to appear. It had been an hour of tiresome waiting. In line were the great dignitaries of the church, the forty-five Cardinals present, attired in their robes of red, alone making a most gorgeous sight. At exactly 11 o'clock the immense bell of St. Peter's clanged a signal, which was taken up by all the churches in Rome. The Pontiff was moving toward the basilica. Everything in the grand old city came to a standstill, hats were removed, and the sign of the cross was made. Inside St. Peter's many silver trumpets were sounded and Pope Leo appeared. Those present seemed to hold their breath for a moment. The Vicar of Christ on earth was in their presence. Then suddenly the pent up feelings of the crowd gave way, and a loud roar of welcome echoed throughout the interior.

The Pope was elevated on the new Sedia Gestatoria, which was surmounted by a white and gold canopy and carried by twelve men in costumes of red brocade, beside whom walked bearers of the famous spreading-feather fans. As Leo XIII sat, gowned in white robes, wearing a mitre of the same shade, his face was like unto alabaster, his thin hand moving slowly in benediction. He appeared as a being of another world, a spirit from God.

The sweet voices of the Sistine choir burst forth, chanting "In es Petrus" softly, yet distinctly, and thousands of voices shouted "Long live Pope Leo!" Handkerchiefs and banners were waved in the air, making a grand sight. Many were overcome by emotion.

At last, on what seemed to be a carpet of heads, the Pope arrived at the throne. Leaving the Sedia Gestatoria he knelt and prayed, and then, without assistance, arose and began the celebration of the Mass. When the Sacred Host was elevated a profound silence fell upon the crowd, the guards presented arms, and those who possibly could do so knelt; from the cupola came the sound of silver trumpets. After the Pope administered the Papal Benediction, he retired for a short rest.

Later he returned to the Vatican and resumed his seat on the Sedia Gestatoria. He was carried throughout the whole length of the cathedral, and many times he stood erect to bestow his blessing, and many high personages, both church and state, bowed low before the Holy

Father, while the crowd cheered loudly. When Pope Leo retired, the crowd immediately left St. Peter's.

Although the ceremony lasted two hours and a quarter, the Pontiff bore up admirably and was much moved by the loyal demonstrations in his honor.

On the night of the celebration all Rome was in a blaze of glory. Religious houses, hotels and private dwellings were brilliantly lighted, and the effect was heightened by the burning of Bengal fires throughout the city. From the Vatican the view was a splendid one. Thousands upon thousands of lights, sparkling upon the wet pavements, could be seen for a distance of seven miles, and as the aged Pontiff arose from his couch to feast his eyes upon the grand sight, he exclaimed: "This will indeed be a splendid thing to dream of!"

CHAPTER XVII.

King Edward Visits the Pope—The German Emperor Pays His Respects to Leo XIII—The Pope Holds His Last Consistory June 25, 1903—Illness and Death of the Holy Father.

RUMORS of the weakness of the Holy Father were in the air long before June 15, 1903, the day named for the Consistory. And, when the Consistory was postponed until June 25, the world at once assumed that the aged Pontiff, who had borne the previous fatigues of long functions so nobly, was near his end. But, according to his devoted physician, Dr. Lapponi, he himself smiled at these rumors. He had received King Edward with genuine delight and cordiality, and serenely awaited the coming of other functions.

He had on several occasions expressed the satisfaction and pleasure which King Edward's visit had given him. He referred to the event again in a private audience which he granted to Mgr. Murphy, Rector of the Irish College. He observed that he had told the King that one of his motives for welcoming the visit of his Majesty was the knowledge that this act of respect to the Pontiff would cause deep gratification in Ireland. "I know," he said with emphasis, "that an act of homage paid to the Vicar of Christ evokes prompt and warm response from the generous people of Ireland."

On the first Sunday of May, the German Emperor visited the Pope. The following persons composed the suite: Count Otto von Bülow, Chancellor of the Empire; Count von Waldersee, Field Marshal; Count von Eulenburg, Grand Marshal of the Court; General von Plessen; Baron von Seaden-Bibran, Minister of Marine; von Klehmet, Privy Councillor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; von Valentini, Head of the Imperial Privy Council; Colonel von Plüsjow; Doctor Ilberg; Captain von Kleist; Lieutenant Count Eulenburg; Colonel von Pritzenwitz; Major Wild von Hohenborn; Lieutenant von Schweinitz, and Doctors Weidenmann and Clemen. The crowds were enthusiastic, and burst forth again and again in acclamations. On the steps of St. Peter's an enormous multitude had gathered, and loud cheers went up from them as the Emperor passed. Behind St. Peter's were massed several hundred German pilgrims, together with the students of the

German College, bearing national banners. They saluted their sovereign with prolonged cheering, waving hats, handkerchiefs, and banners. With the sound of the enthusiastic cries of his own subjects still ringing in his ears, the Emperor passed into the silent courts of the Vatican.

The correspondent of the London *Tablet* described the order of reception, which was the same as that for King Edward:

"The Holy Father advanced to the center of the ante-chamber to meet the Emperor as he approached with the Crown Prince and Prince Eitel. After a few words of mutual greeting, the Emperor was taken into the small Throne Room by the Pope, and was there closeted with him for twenty-five minutes. At the end of that time the two young Princes were called and remained with His Holiness in the company of their father for another ten minutes. His Holiness took the opportunity of presenting to the Kaiser and the two Princes three splendid mosaics which he had personally selected from the Vatican Mosaic Works. One, representing the Roman Forum, he gave to the Emperor; the other two were pictures of the Trevi Fountain and the Castle of St. Angelo. The Emperor had a small present for the Pope in the shape of three richly bound albums, containing photographs of the restoration of the Cathedral of Metz. His Holiness surprised the Kaiser with the remark that the façade resembled very much that of the Cathedral of Rheims, which the Holy Father had seen fifty years before. His recollection was quite accurate, as the restoration was copied from the old Cathedral of Rheims. The members of the Imperial suite were then presented to His Holiness, after which ceremony the Emperor withdrew. In the great Throne Room were presented to his Majesty the following German Bishops, who, by a special privilege, had been admitted to the Anticamera: Mgr. Noerber, Archbishop of Freiburg; Mgr. Ender, Bishop of Fulda; Mgr. Willi, Bishop of Limburg; Mgr. Keppler, Bishop of Rothenburg, and Mgr. Bruch, Bishop of Magonza. The Emperor received them most affably, and then ascended to the apartment of Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State, with whom he remained in conversation about a quarter of an hour. After presenting to his Eminence his sons and suite, he took his leave, dispensing the Cardinal from the formality of returning his visit."

To the amazement of the world, the wonderful Pontiff presided at the consistory of June 25. His complexion looked more like ivory, he was more bowed, his voice was weaker, and it was apparent that he was failing. The episcopal appointments interesting to Americans were:

Rt. Rev. George Montgomery, Bishop of Los Angeles, to assume the position of coadjutor Archbishop of San Francisco.

Most Rev. John M. Farley, as Archbishop of New York.

Most Rev. James E. Quigley, as Archbishop of Chicago.

Rt. Rev. Henry Moeller Bishop of Columbus, as coadjutor Archbishop of Cincinnati.

Rt. Rev. Bertram Orth, Bishop of Victoria, B. C., as Archbishop of Vancouver.

Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, as Bishop of Monterey, Cal.

Rt. Rev. F. Z. Rooker, as Bishop of Jaro, Philippine Islands.

Rt. Rev. Dennis J. Dougherty, as Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Philippine Islands.

Rt. Rev. Charles H. Colton, as Bishop of Buffalo, N. Y.

Rt. Rev. James J. Keane, as Bishop of Cheyenne, Wyo.

Rt. Rev. John W. Stariha, as Bishop of Lead, S. D.

Rt. Rev. Charles J. O'Reilly, as Bishop of Baker City, Ore.

Rt. Rev. J. F. Regis Canevin, as coadjutor Bishop of Pittsburg, Pa.

Rt. Rev. John J. Glennon, Bishop of Kansas City, Mo., as coadjutor Archbishop of St. Louis, Mo.

There were many strangers among the crowds of people who gathered in the corridors of the Sala Regia and Sala Ducale to witness the passage of the Pope's cortege. The Pontiff was borne in the sedia gestatoria by eight men, clad in red brocade. They were flanked by the bearers of the famous fans of feathers.

The Pope smiled while he blessed the crowds as he passed. In fact at times he tried to rise so as to better impart his benediction, and it was only when he descended from the sedia gestatoria that his extreme weakness was apparent.

Following the Pontiff came a gorgeous line of scarlet-clad cardinals, friars in various habits, priests and members of the Papal court wearing velvet knee-breeches and white ruffs. The Church dignitaries were escorted by the Noble, Swiss and Palatine guards.

Special tribunes were erected on both sides of the Papal throne for the accommodation of the members of the diplomatic corps, the Knights of Malta, the Roman aristocracy, the family of the Pope, and relatives of the newly-created cardinals.

Among the Americans present were Mgr. Kennedy, rector of the American College; Mgr. Farrelly, secretary of the American College and privy chamberlain to the Pope; Most Rev. Robert Seton, formerly of Jersey City, N. J., titular Bishop of Heliopolis; and Right Rev. F. Z. Rooker, Bishop of Jaro, Philippine Islands.

The ceremony was made as short as possible in order to lessen the Pontiff's fatigue. The Pope sat on the throne facing the brocade covered benches, on which the cardinals were seated in the form of a square.

The Holy Father said he wished to call attention to the difficult position of the Church and to point out that malicious sects were prevalent in every country and that Christian laws seem to be undergoing deliberate retrogression through the efforts of men of deplorable morals. This state of feeling modified customs and influenced legislation and public institutions. Philosophy, the fine arts and literature were also turned to sacrilegious purposes. The sins of evil-doers could not frustrate the will of the Almighty, but their arrogance paved the way for great misfortune.

The Pope concluded with an appeal to the faithful to pray to God that his work on earth be not diminished, and with the announcement of his intention to issue an encyclical on the subject.

The Holy Father's interest in American affairs and especially in the Catholic University of America became more intense as he grew older. His appointment of Mgr. O'Connell, late rector of the American College at Rome, was a signal proof of his favor. Among his latest messages to the United States was that spoken to the new rector,—

"I send you, O'Connell; go with my blessing and remember that my name is at stake in the Catholic University of America."

To the Catholics of America came his latest wish for their welfare—the token of his constant interest in their intellectual and moral life.

On Sunday, July 5, the following cable, dated at Rome on the same day and received at the Apostolic Legation, Washington, gave the first authoritative notice of the serious illness of the Holy Father. It was given to the press and appeared in the issues of the daily papers of Monday, July 6. The cable was from Cardinal Rampolla, secretary of State:

"The Holy Father is suffering from pneumonia and old age. His condition is grave especially on account of his age."

On July 5 the well informed newspapers had announced that the Pope was suffering extremely from insomnia. A dispatch from London said that he was suffering from pneumonia of the right lung. Dr. Lapponi remained at the Vatican during the night.

Another dispatch from Rome said that Cardinal Rampolla summoned Cardinal Oreglia di Santo Stefano, the Dean of the Sacred College and the only survivor of the Conclave which elected Pope Leo. Cardinal Oreglia visited His Holiness and had a secret audience with him.

After the audience the Pope collapsed and had another fainting fit. The medical attendants found that the action of the heart was feeble and decided to sustain it by injections of caffeine.

Grave fears were entertained as to the outcome of the attack. These fears were increased by the view taken by the Pope's physician, Dr. Lap-

poni. "The situation," he said, "this time is certainly really grave, in view of the great age of the patient and state of extreme weakness. However, the case is not desperate, especially with a man having such unexpected reserves of energy and vitality, which at the age of ninety-three is indeed astonishing. The exact definition of the Pope's illness is senile adynamic pneumonia, but His Holiness has not the least idea that he is attacked by any organic disease.

"In fact, he was not in bed when I went to the Vatican, but was seated in his usual arm chair, where I am accustomed to see him every time I visit the palace. He believes that the oppression on his chest and the accompanying difficulty of breathing are merely the results of extreme weakness.

"As soon as he saw me His Holiness repeatedly requested me to turn my attention to the best means of restoring his strength, which he said was all he required, except a little fresh air. Now and then the Pope has recourse to his inveterate habit of snuff-taking, saying that he finds it very refreshing.

"The weakness of the patient's pulse and his short and irregular breathing, gradually approaching to gasping, are the only external symptoms of any serious nature, but, as I said before, the Pope was full of spirits and would not take a grave view of his own case. When I left him His Holiness said:—'Come again soon. I will try to give you a better reception.'"

On Sunday, July 5, Dr. Mazzoni and Dr. Lapponi thought that the danger of a catastrophe occurring during the night had been averted. Indeed, they hoped that unless there should be heart failure they would be able to keep their august patient alive for a few days longer, especially if he would willingly consent to observe the physicians' prescriptions. This, however, was the more difficult as His Holiness preserved his full consciousness and argued and discussed his doctors' prescription. The latter, fearing to excite him by contradiction, were sometimes at a loss how to proceed.

During the afternoon the strength of the Pontiff began to fail him so rapidly and his condition became so critical it appeared that only a few more hours of life remained to him. It was, therefore, deemed wise to advise him of his grave condition, and this was done with tender precaution. Pope Leo was thus prepared for his last communion, which was administered with the participation of all the cardinals in Rome and the whole of the Pontifical Court.

The solemn ceremony of administering the viaticum took place at the bedside of Pope Leo. The central figure was the dying Pontiff, calmly preparing to enter the dark valley. His pale and emaciated face,

almost as white as the pillows on which it rested, showed little sign of life, except the keen, glowing eyes, always his most striking feature.

Around the bed were grouped the Noble Guards in their uniforms; the Private Chamberlains of the Cloak and Sword; twenty-five Cardinals; all the members of the Sacred College who were in Rome, stately and venerable figures, in their sweeping robes. The whole of what is called the Pontifical family, headed by Cardinal Rampolla, and including all the private chamberlains, was there.

Nearest to the bed stood the imposing, tall figure of the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary, Serafino Vannutelli. Then the officiating prelate approached, to administer the viaticum, and extreme unction, assisted by the Grand Penitentiary. Pope Leo feebly recited the Confession of Faith, as formulated by the Council of Trent, and finally the words of absolution and the formula of indulgence in *articulo mortis* were solemnly pronounced by the Grand Penitentiary. The heads of the great religious orders who were present granted the Pope the special indulgences which they have the privilege of conferring.

Then came the touching prayers for a passing soul and part of the Gospel of the Lord's passion. As the last words died away all fell on their knees. The Pontiff, raising his almost transparent fingers with a feeble effort, pronounced in scarcely audible words his benediction on the Sacred College and all present and then sank back on the pillows. There was scarcely a tearless eye in the whole assemblage. The sobs of the Pope's relatives were plainly heard. Deep silence followed, only broken now and again by a murmured prayer or a pious ejaculation.

But the end had not yet come. After the impressive service had been performed the Pope fell into a restful sleep, during which his prayer uttered earlier in the day was granted. "Give me a little strength, only a little strength," he had said to his physician, and at dawn of the following morning he awoke refreshed. Turning to Pio Centra, his faithful attendant, he asked him to throw open the shutters of his chamber windows. "I wish," he said, "to see once more, perhaps for the last time, the rays of the sun." The spirit which entered the room with the light of day was akin to that of the august Pontiff, whose clear mind had for so many years ruled the church with wisdom and exalted the name of Jesus Christ in the world. Stimulated by the keen morning air, the Pope recovered some of his former buoyancy. He arose from his bed, went through his usual toilet, chatted with his attendant physicians, and, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, conferred with his secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla, upon matters of importance to Christendom.

The heroism of Leo XIII in what was destined to be his final illness had about it something of the superhuman. It is not surprising that

cries of "A miracle," "A miracle," should have gone from lip to lip when the news of his sustained executive power went forth to the dignitaries of the church who were eagerly awaiting, in the halls of the Vatican, the latest reports of the condition of the Holy Father. And there is in the unflagging interest of Leo XIII, in the work which he was called upon to perform as the Vicar of Christ, an inspiring lesson for all of us. He was supported under the most trying conditions by the knowledge of the life to come. It mattered not that the eyes of the body were about to be closed. Christ was to him the Resurrection and the Life, and he knew that with death and the judgment, he would enter with all of the faithful into the brightness of the life everlasting.

For almost three weeks the august patient wavered between life and death. On Tuesday, July 14th, his mind, which up to that time had retained its customary clearness, became obscured. The ravages of old age were rapidly reducing his vitality and the will of the Pontiff, which the world had come to feel was indomitable, began to yield to the inevitable defeat. Gradually he sank into a state of coma, from which he escaped only for short intervals until the end. On the afternoon of Monday, July 20, 1903, at four minutes after 4 o'clock, the entire world was cast into sorrow by the announcement that Leo XIII was dead.

Few deaths have been more beautiful than his. Throughout his severe illness he refused to be cast down. Sustained by a perfect faith, by the ever-present spirit of his Redeemer, he contemplated the end without fear. Truly for him death had been robbed of its sting. When on the morning of the 7th of July his relations had gathered about him to bid him farewell, he sought to communicate to them his own serenity: "I feel the moment approaching," he said to them, "when I must leave you. I am about to enter eternal life. But do not grieve for me. I am about to enter my real happiness." There was in all he said and did during those last days this fine unconsciousness of the terrors of death. Indeed, he frequently astonished those whose privilege it was to watch beside him by his expressions of good cheer.

When his physicians were preparing to perform an operation to remove the liquid which had accumulated in his affected lung, a window was opened to admit the light. The unaccustomed brilliance pained the eyes of the Pontiff. He prepared to shift his position. But before he could move, Doctor Mazzoni took him in his arms and turned him bodily about. "Bravo, professor. I congratulate you," exclaimed the Pontiff. "Although I have grown so light, I am sure I am still pretty heavy."

And on another occasion, when the shutters had been thrown back from his windows and he was able to look out upon the square of St. Peter's, he good-naturedly determined to disobey his physician, who was advising him not to permit himself to be perturbed by the shifting and curious multitude that had gathered below. "I know you say this because of your affection for me," answered the Pontiff, "but either my last day is rapidly approaching, in which case I must employ all the time left me, so far as I can, or else I shall recover, again postponing the end. If this is the will of the Almighty, nothing can change it."

Only the consciousness of a pure and noble life could inspire such almost divine serenity. When he felt his life rapidly ebbing, he turned to his private chaplain and said: "I have no longer any hope of life. I have a presentiment that this day the Most High will summon me to appear in His presence. I feel no regret at quitting life. To-day in the churches begins a seven days' devotion to our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the devout faithful praying to the holy virgin will also offer prayers for my poor person.

"I die calmly. I am conscious of having endeavored to discharge my duty for the good of the Church and humanity. I know not how the world will judge my deeds, but the Almighty God knows my motives and has given me a tranquil conscience on the threshold of Eternity." Would that all of the children of our blessed mother, the Church, might win this highest reward of the faithful—a clear and tranquil conscience on the threshold of the final judgment.

The official announcement of Leo XIII's death reached the Apostolic Delegate Falconio at 12:45 o'clock on Monday, and read as follows:

"ROME, July 20, 1903.—Mgr. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, Washington, D. C.: With deepest sorrow I announce to you the death of the Holy Father, which occurred this afternoon at 4 o'clock. His holiness died surrounded by the sacred college.

"M. CARDINAL RAMPOLLA."

To this message Archbishop Falconio made immediate response, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 20, 1903.—Cardinal Rampolla, Rome: With deepest sorrow I express to your eminence the universal grief for the irreparable loss sustained in the death of the glorious Pontiff.

"FALCONIO."

When the news of Pope Leo's death was confirmed, the following official cablegram was sent to the Vatican from the State Department of the United States:

"Cardinal Rampolla, the Vatican, Rome:

"The President desires me to express his profound sense of the loss

which the Christian world has sustained in the death of his holiness Leo XIII. By his lofty character, his great learning, and his comprehensive charity he adorned his exalted station and made his reign one of the most illustrious, as it has been one of the longest, in the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

"JOHN HAY."

To this message, which may be accepted as an expression of the feeling of all the people of the United States, wholly without regard to their religious faith, it is interesting to add the reported statement of ex-President Cleveland, who was an ardent admirer of the dead Pontiff:

"Although, of course, not unexpected, the news of the death of this distinguished man cannot fail to awaken regret in the minds of all those who are sincerely solicitous for the betterment of humanity.

" I have regarded Pope Leo XIII as a most important factor in the advance of civilization and man's improvement. Though at the head of a church to whose interests he was constantly devoted, he seemed never to forget that all mankind is akin when manhood's development and the promotion of universal brotherhood are in the balance. Not only his church but the cause of humanity has lost a strong advocate and a sincere friend."

Later in the afternoon Mgr. Falconio gave out to the archbishops and bishops of the Catholic Church, of whom there are ninety in America, the following address:

" Apostolic Delegation, United States of America, Washington, D. C., July 20.—Your Lordship: It is my painful duty to convey to you the sad intelligence of the death of our Holy Father, the Pope, which occurred to-day. As in life, so in death, the august Pontiff has shown such wonderful example of serious thought, of determination of character, of sweetness, of hearty piety and Christian fortitude as to evoke in all lands the most striking manifestation of reverence and respect.

" Leo XIII is dead. In him the world has lost a profound scholar, a distinguished statesman, a lover and a protector of right and justice; has lost one whose power for the amelioration of society has been exercised with such consummate skill and earnestness as to be felt everywhere, and to gain for him universal admiration. Hence his death is deplored by all without distinction of nationality or creed.

" However, for us Roman Catholics the loss is greater, and consequently still more keenly felt. In Leo XIII, besides the scholar, the statesman, the philanthropist, we have lost our spiritual father, the supreme pastor of our church, him who during his long pontificate, has watched with incessant solicitude for our spiritual welfare, and has spared no labor to proclaim farther and wider the kingdom of his

divine Master. His reign recalls to our minds the brightest days of the papacy. His noble figure has earned one of the most glorious places in history.

"While we bow reverently before the mortal remains of our august Pontiff and deplore the great loss which his death has caused to the church, let public and private prayers be raised to heaven in every diocese and in every parish for the eternal repose of that noble soul. As to the public prayers, your lordship may prescribe such suffrages as your piety may inspire. With sentiments of highest esteem and profound respect, I beg leave to remain, your devoted servant in Christ,

"D. Falconio,
"Archbishop of Larysa, Delegate Apostolic."

Pope Leo's final moments, though not free from suffering, were marked by serenity and devotion. Almost all of the cardinals who were then in Rome were kneeling at the bedside, watching the passage of the exalted soul. Earlier in the day, Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli had pronounced absolution "in articulo mortis." The supreme moment is impressively described in Doctor Lapponi's official announcement of the Pontiff's death:

"Death occurred through exhaustion, although in the last two hours Pope Leo made a supreme effort to gather all his energies. He succeeded in recognizing those about him by the sound of their voices, as his sight was almost entirely lost. Still, he made a marvelous display of his energy, and even his death was really grand. It was resigned, calm and serene.

"Few examples can be given of a man of such advanced age, after so exhaustive an illness, showing such supreme courage in dying. The Pontiff's last breath was taken at exactly four minutes past 4. I approached a lighted candle to his mouth three times, according to the traditional ceremonial, and afterward declared the Pope to be no more. I then went to inform Cardinal Oreglia, the dean of the Sacred College, who immediately assumed full power and gave orders that the Vatican be cleared of all curious persons having no right to be therein."

It is said that when the cardinals were summoned to his bedside, the Pope held Cardinal Oreglia's hand for several moments, and then noticing for the first time that almost the entire body of cardinals in Rome was present, he made a visible effort and pronounced the benediction which proved to be his last utterance: "I feel that Divine Providence calls me. The task which remains to you is a heavy one, for the conditions of the Church have become ever more difficult. May the Holy Spirit watch over you in the choice of my successor."

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